

# Policy Resolutions

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**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND  
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS**

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## **LEGISLATIVE AND POLITICAL POLICIES**

### **President Nixon**

The Constitutional crisis that began with what the White House once described as a "third-rate burglary" has now been brought to a head by the absolutely unprecedented and shocking actions of President Nixon within the last 48 hours.

In rapid succession, these events have taken place:

The President demanded that Attorney General Elliot Richardson fire special Watergate prosecutor Archibald Cox. Richardson refused and resigned. The President demanded that Deputy Attorney General William D. Ruckelshaus fire Cox. Ruckelshaus refused and was fired. The President ordered his Solicitor General, Robert H. Bork, to fire Cox, and Bork, now Acting Attorney General, complied. The President ordered the FBI to seal off the offices of the special prosecutor, the Attorney General and the Deputy Attorney General—thereby, in effect, taking possession of the Watergate evidence.

These incredible actions have revealed the extent to which Mr. Nixon is prepared to go to prevent the full disclosure of evidence relating to the Watergate cover-up and other charges of criminal conduct by high government officials. He had already refused the orders of two courts to turn nine of his tapes bearing on the Watergate matters over to Judge John Sirica.

The President seems determined not to discharge the chief obligation of his office. Article II, Section 3 of the Constitution states that, "he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed." But Mr. Nixon seems utterly determined to frustrate the full and impartial administration of the law.

When the Senate Judiciary Committee confirmed the appointment of Cox, it acted with the understanding, spelled out in the guidelines drawn up by the Attorney General, on May 19, that he would have:

"full authority with respect to . . . determining whether or not to contest the assertion of 'executive privilege' or any other testimonial privilege. . . . The attorney general will not counter-man or interfere with the special prosecutor's decisions or actions. . . . The special prosecutor will not be removed from his duties except for extraordinary improprieties on his part."

The special prosecutor's decision to press forward on the legal front to obtain the President's tapes hardly constitutes an "extra-

ordinary impropriety." On the contrary, it constitutes the fulfillment of his mandate to "review all documentary evidence available from any source, as to which he shall have full access."

Similarly, the refusal of Attorney General Richardson to fire Cox was in accordance with the understanding between him and the special prosecutor, which understanding was also at the basis of the Senate's confirmation of Mr. Richardson as Attorney General.

Mr. Nixon's determination to prevent judicial examination of his tapes, no matter what the cost to our constitutional system, can only further erode public confidence in him. When the President appears fearful of facing a Supreme Court composed in large measure of his own appointees, the public can scarcely resist the darkest speculations.

We believe that the American people have had enough. More than enough.

We therefore call upon Richard Nixon, President of the United States, to resign.

We ask him to resign in the interest of preserving our democratic system of government, which requires a relationship of trust and candor between the people and their political leaders.

We ask him to resign in the interest of restoring a fully functioning government, which his Administration is too deeply in disarray to provide.

We ask him to resign in the interest of national security.

If Mr. Nixon does not resign, we call upon the House of Representatives forthwith to initiate impeachment proceedings against him.

We also call upon the Congress to hold up further consideration of the President's Vice President—designate, Mr. Gerald Ford. Clearly, a President who has placed himself on the brink of impeachment should not be allowed to name his successor until the charges against him have been disposed of satisfactorily.

We concur completely with Archibald Cox, who said at the time of his dismissal:

"Whether we shall continue to be a government of laws and not of men is now for Congress and ultimately the American people to decide."

Impeachment is not a prospect we contemplate with pleasure. No decent American can derive any partisan satisfaction whatever from the misfortune of his nation. And surely the American labor movement is not interested in aiding any reckless attacks on the Presidency. We are especially concerned about the office

of the Presidency in these times of grave danger on the international front.

But the cause of peace and freedom in the world cannot be served by a discredited Presidency at home. Our allies' best hope—mankind's best hope—lies in the strength of our democratic institutions.

Justice must be done, the risks of not doing it being more than a democracy can safely bear.

## Campaign Financing Reform

The AFL-CIO Executive Council, in its statement on Watergate of May 8, 1973 pointed out:

"Corruption is no stranger to American politics. But what makes this case particularly outrageous is that the object was not the satisfaction of personal greed so much as the large-scale subversion of the democratic political process."

There can be no doubt that such a large-scale subversion was indeed attempted and narrowly foiled. Likewise, there is no doubt that the essential element in this effort was money—an unprecedented amount of money.

The Finance Committee to Re-elect the President has reported receipts of \$60.2 million—roughly twice the amount raised and spent by the other party. In 1968 and 1972, the Nixon campaign apparatus emerged with substantial surpluses, while the other party was plunged into debt.

While the lessons of Watergate are manifold and touch on many aspects of American life, the most important lesson is already crystal clear and requires no further elucidation by courts or committees. That lesson is that the power of money in politics must be once and for all, and drastically curtailed. There is no room in our democracy for even the remotest possibility that elections can be bought by those who possess great wealth or control over it.

Just as the American labor movement consistently and vigorously championed the principle of one-man, one-vote, so do we now insist on new legislation to reform campaign spending. The keystone of such reform must be public financing of political campaigns. The conducting of democratic elections is a responsibility of our total society, not a function of private largesse. Unless we want to move toward a system in which only the wealthy, or their friends and agents, can afford to run for public office, campaign spending reform is absolutely necessary now.

A high priority in that reform is to insure that in the future, and in contrast to the past, the laws regulating campaign spending are enforced with an even hand and without a double standard. The imposition of prison terms and heavy fines on individuals without corporate connections, compared with token or meaningless penalties on corporations and corporate executives for the same offense, constitutes something other than our traditional American concept of equal justice under the law. There can only be faith in the American electoral system if the election laws are both adequate in scope and equally enforced.

### Political Activities

While there is cause for optimism about the congressional and senatorial elections of 1974, it is tempered by the recognition that unforeseen events can influence or change utterly what now may appear to be trends. Issues change, personalities change and new ones arise.

Yet, the opportunity appears present to make significant gains in the House and Senate. To grasp that opportunity is the challenge that faces the labor movement. Consequently, we recommend:

1. Total commitment at all levels of the labor movement to achieve victory at the polls in 1974.
2. Establishment of a COPE committee in every affiliated local union to do its utmost to assure political participation by every member, to the extent at least of registering, voting and contributing \$2 to COPE.
3. Increased efforts at all levels to communicate on a continuing basis with members on issues and candidates' records.

### Postcard Registration

WHEREAS, Every year the labor movement expends vast resources of money and manpower to register its members and others in order to make the citizen eligible to vote on Election Day. There is probably no measure pending before Congress which is so interwoven with the basic day-to-day meaning of democracy as are S352 and HR8053, for the essence of democracy is the participation of the greatest number of citizens in the process of decision making, and

WHEREAS, In state after state, we see the chaos and complexity and confusion in our present registration system. Wherever we look, we find that registration is an obstacle course for the voter instead of the easy path to the polls it ought to be, and

WHEREAS, We in the labor movement are well aware of the problems of early closing deadlines, unfair registration requirements, inaccessible registration offices and a host of other burdens put upon the citizen when he attempts to register. We take the position that the government not only has the legal obligation to provide the facilities and machinery for registering and voting, but also the moral obligation of enthusiastically encouraging our citizens to register and vote. We feel that too often our laws discourage, not encourage, voter participation. It is our contention that in states that have good registration laws, the citizen will more likely respond on Election Day, and

WHEREAS, The United States has had a poor record when it comes to the numbers of people voting in our federal elections. Our proportion of people voting in the presidential year of 1972 was only 55 percent. In 1971 in Great Britain 71 percent of the eligible voters went to the polls. In recent elections in other nations, the turnout was even higher—74 percent in Canada, 74 percent in France and 91 percent in West Germany. In these countries they use mail and door-to-door canvassing to register the citizen, and

WHEREAS, The function of registering voters ought to become automatic, as in Canada and in Great Britain. We should not put the onus of finding the voting place or the registration booth on the individual citizen, but permit him to do it automatically, the way he mails out his taxes, and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO believes the key to effective election law is a simple method of national registration, as provided by S352 and HR8053.

Basically, S352 and HR8053 would provide that:

1. Each voter receive a pre-registration form containing the appropriate state law requirements 45 days before the close of state registration;
2. A qualified voter would fill out the simple postcard form and mail back to the state or local officials who would continue to control the registering process;
3. Federal financial assistance would be given state and local officials to defray the cost of processing the cards; and
4. Postcard voter registration forms would be available in ample quantities in post offices and federal, state and local government offices.

We feel through this process that a great many more people would register and vote on election day; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO give hearty approval and full support to S352 and HR8053 now pending before the U.S. Congress and urge their speedy enactment into law.

## ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ISSUES

### National Economy

The national economy in the past two years has been marked by increasingly unbalanced trends, uncertainty about future developments and a spreading lack of confidence, both at home and abroad, in the Administration's ability to deal with America's complex domestic and international economic problems.

Persistent inflation has been accompanied by skyrocketing profits and soaring interest rates. However, workers' wages have been under continuing control since August 15, 1971 and the buying power of the average worker's after-tax weekly earnings has been in a declining trend since October 1972.

These unbalanced developments—combined with the Administration's policies of tight-money, peak interest rates and a hold-down on federal expenditures—are depressing residential construction and the activities of many smaller businesses. The only economic sector that is rising rapidly—in a one-sided and temporary boom—is business investments in plants and machines, fueled by spectacular profits and the Administration's tax bonanzas to business, which were adopted in December 1971 as part of the so-called economic stabilization program. The Administration's policies are producing a sharp economic slowdown and threatening a general recession, with production cutbacks and rising unemployment.

The Administration's stabilization program has shifted, since August 1971, through two freezes and four phases, which have been heavily weighted on behalf of big business, with a continuing lack of fairness and equity for consumers and workers.

For the first time in the nation's history, the American dollar has been severely battered in the world economy. There have been two official government devaluations in rapid succession, in December 1971 and February 1973, followed by the further devaluation that has resulted from floating the dollar. These devaluations have contributed substantially to inflationary pressures, as well as to uncertainty and a lack of confidence.

In addition, essential social programs—such as manpower, housing and education—are being cut or dismantled through presidential vetoes of congressional actions, the impoundment of appropriated funds, administrative procedures and the under-funded dispersal of programs through so-called revenue sharing.

Government policies are required to assure a balanced, full employment economy, with rising real incomes, expansion of badly needed public facilities and services and restored confidence in the government's ability to manage the economy's problems.

1. Tax justice and additional federal revenue, as well as the foundation for economic balance, are needed and can be achieved by eliminating major tax loopholes of special benefit for corporations and wealthy families. Elimination of such loopholes in the federal tax structure could raise as much as \$20 billion of additional revenue for the development and expansion of public facilities and services. It could establish the basis for a continuing balance between the economy's increasing capacity to produce more goods and services, more efficiently, and its ability to sell the growing volume of potential output. It is also essential to provide a fair and equitable method for obtaining required federal revenue.

2. America needs a sufficient expansion of money and credit, at reduced interest rates, to encourage balanced economic expansion and minimize business-cycle swings of temporary rapid growth, followed by recurring recessions.

We urge Congress to direct the Federal Reserve system to allocate a portion of available bank credit, at reasonable interest rates, for the construction of housing and community facilities and to curb the flow of credit for such activities as conglomerate takeovers, land speculation and foreign subsidiaries. We also urge Congress to require pension funds and trust accounts of banks to invest a portion of these moneys in low- and moderate-income housing. Socially important investment needs protection against the fluctuations of the money markets so that in periods of tight money, all available credit is not channeled to meet the demands of the major corporations at the expense of housing, community facilities and similar investments.

A congressional review of the entire Federal Reserve system and the nation's monetary policy is long overdue—to bring America's central bank fully into the government structure, to establish improved coordination of the nation's monetary policy, to provide a portion of available credit for housing and other socially important investment and to make the Board of Governors and the managing boards of district banks more representative of the major groups of the economy, including workers and consumers.

3. We urge Congress to reject proposals to cut or terminate essential government programs. Congress should provide adequate funds to expand the operation of programs that strengthen American society and create job opportunities—in such areas as education, health-care, low- and moderate-income housing, pollution controls and community facilities.

We request Congress to adopt an expanded and strengthened public-service employment program—federal grants to the states and local governments to create jobs for the unemployed and seriously underemployed in providing needed public services.

A special program of federal grants to states, local governments and federal agencies is needed to accelerate short-term

public works construction and repairs in areas of high unemployment.

4. The federal government should reestablish full employment as the top-priority objective of national economic policy—jobs at decent wages for all people who are able to work and desire employment.

To the extent that the economy's regular job channels do not achieve full employment, a sufficiently large public-service employment program should be maintained.

5. The federal farm program should help to hold down food prices and more fairly distribute farm-income support payments. The nation's agricultural policy must end restrictions on acreage planted to major crops and, instead, encourage maximum production to redress the lack of balance between domestic supplies and the demand for American agricultural products, at home and abroad. Hundreds of millions of dollars in federal subsidies should no longer be lavished on agribusiness-type farms, often owned by big corporations and wealthy absentees. A reasonable payment-ceiling should be enforced on income-maintenance payments to any farm producer.

Export controls on agricultural and other raw material products, in short supply, should be established and maintained, until inflationary shortages are ended and pressures on the prices of such products subside. The federal tax subsidy for export companies should be suspended for the export of commodities in which there are price-raising supply problems. Effective government regulation of the commodity markets—including margin requirements—is needed to curb excessive price-boosting speculation and profiteering.

6. The specific causes of such long-term upward pressures on living costs, as physicians' fees, hospital charges, housing costs (including soaring land prices and interest rates) and auto insurance, should be examined for the development of practical, sensible measures to dampen these pressures.

7. The renewed trend of business mergers, which is greatly increasing the concentration of economic power in a narrowing group of huge corporations and banks, requires a detailed examination by Congress for the development of appropriate government measures. A full-scale congressional investigation of business mergers, the interlocking relationships among the giant corporations and banks, their control of key parts of the U.S. economy, their effect on prices and America's position in the world economy and their impact on democratic institutions is urgently needed to provide Congress and the public with the facts on the current realities of America's economic structure.

8. We have no confidence in any program of stabilization controls, such as those in existence since August 15, 1971, that is based on the perpetuation of special privileges and misguided "incentives" that breed inflation and distort the economy. The Administration's so-called stabilization program has been unjust,

unfair and inequitable from its inception and the rise of living costs has accelerated sharply, while only wages of workers have been effectively controlled. It is better that there be no controls program whatsoever rather than one that is inequitable. The controls programs of this Administration have created confusion, chaos, and economic imbalance. They should be ended and the nation returned to a fair and free economy by dealing directly with such basic causes of inflation and injustice as: tax bonanzas to business, which produce an inflationary lack of balance in the economy; the export of capital and technology leading to the deterioration of America's position in the world economy and inflationary devaluations of the dollar; uncontrolled and frequently subsidized huge exports of agricultural products and raw materials in short domestic supply; soaring interest rates that raise costs and prices throughout the economy.

9. Increases in the buying power of workers' wages and salaries are a basic prerequisite for a balanced economy—to provide workers with a share in the benefits of economic progress and to establish the foundation for the needed expansion of consumer markets. A balanced economy is not possible without adequate growth of consumer markets, which account for about two-thirds of total national production. And the needed rise of consumer expenditures cannot possibly be maintained, unless increases in workers' real incomes are achieved.

10. We urge Congress and the Administration to adopt and pursue a comprehensive policy to halt the continuing deterioration of America's position in the world economy—to stop the export of American jobs and undermining of the nation's industrial base, to regulate the export of American technology and capital, to eliminate the tax and other incentives that encourage U.S. companies to establish and expand their operations in foreign countries and to curb the rising tide of imports that displace American production.

A full-dress congressional investigation is needed of the huge foreign financial operations of American corporations and banks and the extent of their contribution to runs on the American dollar and ensuing devaluations.

11. Once again as we have for over a decade, we urge Congress and the Administration to create a statutory Council on National Energy Policy and to develop a comprehensive natural resources and energy policy. We support immediate construction of the Alaskan pipeline and provision for negotiations with Canada that can lead to another pipeline to the Midwest. We urge congressional enactment of the bill to mobilize the nation's scientific and technological resources in a ten-year, \$20 billion crash program to expand existing and develop alternative energy resources—to end America's growing and potentially dangerous dependence on foreign nations for energy resources. Congress should also guarantee that a fair share of all imported petroleum and related products be carried in U.S.-flag ships.

12. We urge the federal government to develop a comprehensive and coordinated national inventory of needs for housing, community facilities and public services. A detailed inventory of present backlog and growing needs should be prepared by each state and metropolitan area, as well. On the basis of such national, state and metropolitan area inventories of needs, the federal government should provide national programs to meet these public-investment requirements—through financial and technical grants-in-aid to the states and cities and guaranteed loans, as well as through direct loans and direct federal measures. The timing for meeting the various categories of needs should be speeded up or slowed down, depending on the availability of manpower and productive capacity, within the context of expanding programs. A massive, coordinated national effort to meet these needs is long overdue, to strengthen the fabric of American society.

13. We call upon the federal government to establish a technological clearing house to gather information on a continuing basis on technological change and its effects on the welfare of the American people, as a basis for public and private adjustment programs. We urge the government to provide unions and employers with a comprehensive information and assistance service that could provide assistance, upon request, in developing labor-management solutions for the complex problems that are related to the impact of radical technological change at the workplace. We also urge the government to encourage research and development in new technology for meeting national needs and in such areas as pollution control, urban transportation and improving the quality of life in the 1970s.

#### Phase IV

WHEREAS, If Administration spokesmen can be believed, Phase IV will be the final chapter in the sorry program originally referred to as a New Economic Program, and

WHEREAS, This so-called economic stabilization program has been a washout. It only aggravated the economic problems that it was supposed to solve. When the wage-price freeze was instituted in August of 1971, inflation had hovered for most of that year at about 4 percent—a level of increase which at that time was considered politically unacceptable. By the first 6 months of 1973 the annualized increase in consumer prices was running at an astounding 8 percent—double the pre-Phase I figure. In fact, despite two periods of “frozen” prices, the overall average increase in prices since the stabilization program began has been higher than that which prevailed before the freezes. The hardest hit have been those on fixed incomes and the working poor, and

WHEREAS, The Phase I period saw workers forced to defer or forego hard-won and much-needed raises. Phase II brought

about the Pay Board, with its power to order cuts in duly negotiated and ratified agreements. Phase III meant more of the same for workers and a relaxation of controls on prices. Phase IV offers no help or hope, and

WHEREAS During this entire period, increases in corporate profits, interest rates, rents, prices and executive salaries have rarely been questioned and have never been controlled. In 1971, after-tax profits increased by 14 percent. In 1972, they went up by 15.5 percent and were climbing even faster in the first part of 1973. According to Business Week magazine, the compensation of top corporate executives increased by 13.5 percent in 1972, more than twice the 6.2 percent allowed workers, and

WHEREAS, Rather than including refinements in Phase IV that might have instilled some equity into the economy, the Administration has continued most of the weaknesses of Phases I, II, and III, and

WHEREAS, Rents are not controlled. Dividends and interest rates are not regulated. Profits are controlled only indirectly, and

WHEREAS, Thus it was possible for bankers to double the price of money in the 18 months between April, 1972 and August, 1973. The prime rate went from 5 percent to 10 percent in this period. Needless to say, employees of these financial institutions remain covered by wage controls, and

WHEREAS, Since 1966 the AFL-CIO has stated time and again that it would go along with economic controls provided that they are equitably placed on all costs and incomes—including all prices, profits, dividends, rents and executive compensation, as well as employees’ wages and salaries. We are prepared to sacrifice as much as anyone else, as long as anyone else, so long as there is equality of sacrifice.

WHEREAS, Two years ago, we resolved in convention to cooperate with any economic stabilization attempts that would fairly spread the burden of sacrifice inherent in a program of economic controls. This never came to pass. The New Economic Program in its various phases, was poorly conceived, totally understaffed and inequitably administered, and

WHEREAS, It is apparent that this Administration will not institute or support fair and equitable across-the-board controls which place the economic burden equally on all segments of the economy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO calls for the early phase-out of the Administration’s misnomered stabilization program.

It is better that there be no controls program rather than one which is inequitable and ineffective. Meaningless economic controls merely compound the confusion and chaos which currently exist in the marketplace.

## **Impoundment**

WHEREAS, President Nixon's refusal to spend all the money Congress has appropriated for domestic social programs threatens the constitutional separation of powers. By impounding large portions of the appropriated funds he is able to curtail and even kill programs in such vital areas as housing, education, employment, health, urban renewal and highways, and

WHEREAS, Although he has impounded funds during the first four years of his administration, in the current fiscal year (FY 1973) alone, he has impounded \$18 billion according to the Library of Congress, more than 7 percent of the budget. The yearly average of presidential impoundments in the past 13 years was 5.5 percent. But there is an important qualitative difference between President Nixon's impoundments and those of his predecessors. In the past, impounded funds have been deferrals and the funds have been spent later on in the fiscal year or in following years. Most of Mr. Nixon's withholdings are permanent. Defense and space impoundments alone, have been deferrals. The President has used impoundment as a means of ending social programs he doesn't like, and

WHEREAS Senator Sam Ervin, the North Carolina Democrat, who has led the fight against the President's use of the impoundment tactic, says, rightly, "The problem is a constitutional one and not one of partisan politics. It is a question of whether our government will continue to be one of separated powers with checks and balances . . . or whether we will continue down the road toward one-man rule," and

WHEREAS, We are gratified to see that federal courts throughout the country, at both the district and appellate levels, have found against the President's claimed power to indefinitely impound congressional appropriations. In a series of recent decisions, courts have ordered the Administration to spend appropriate funds for elementary and secondary education, for highways and community mental health centers; they have directed the Administration to reinstate housing subsidy programs and low-interest rural housing programs, and

WHEREAS, We recognize that there is some validity in President Nixon's basic defense of his impoundments—that unless there are limits on government spending, federal programs can have an inflationary effect. In the past, Congress has not paid sufficient attention to budgetary controls. But Congress, as Senator Ervin observes, is not "composed of wild-eyed spend-thrifts, nor is the President the embattled crusader against wasteful spending that he would have you believe. What is going on is really a disagreement between the President and the Congress over spending priorities and his authority to pick

and choose what programs he will fund and what programs he will not fund," and

WHEREAS, Congress at long-last has also begun to deal with the issue. Both the House and Senate have passed anti-impoundment bills. Both have indicated they consider such legislation a first step and they are proceeding to try and devise a system of budgetary control so that Congress can better determine the priorities to observe in federal spending, and

WHEREAS, The House and Senate anti-impoundment measures are similar in some respects and fundamentally different in others. Both would establish budget ceilings for the fiscal year 1974—the House a ceiling of \$267.1 billion, the Senate a ceiling of \$268 billion. Both authorize the President to make proportional cuts in spending to enforce the ceiling. Under the House bill, the President could impound funds for a program unless either body of Congress, within 60 days after being notified of an impoundment, passed a resolution disapproving of it. Under the Senate bill, an impoundment would have to cease automatically after 60 days unless both bodies passed a concurrent resolution approving it. The House bill also expires within a year; the Senate bill has no time limit, and

WHEREAS, Both bills must now go to Conference. The AFL-CIO recognizes the important objective to which they address themselves; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO urges Congress to quickly settle differences between the House and Senate versions of the anti-impoundment legislation and report out a bill that will establish a clear procedure the President must follow in impoundments so that he cannot use that tactic to kill or curtail social programs, and be it further

RESOLVED: We urge, further, that Congress continue its efforts to achieve a program of budgetary control that will establish clear constitutional distinctions between the power of Congress over the nation's purse and the duty of the President to execute, faithfully, the laws by which Congress appropriates money out of the federal treasury.

## **International Trade and Investment**

The Administration, Congress and other nations now recognize the new problems of the United States in the world economy of the 1970s. As the U.S. position has continued to decline, dollar devaluations and piecemeal trade actions have added to distortions at home and abroad. No prospects for a realistic improvement in the trade balance, the value of the dollar, or the health of the U.S. in the world economy are in sight, unless

government remedies are adopted. The American standard of living and the jobs of American workers in all types of industries are threatened. The industrial base of the nation is being undermined. The need for action and comprehensive new policies cannot wait.

Emphasis on changing monetary relationships and machinery and misplaced reliance on agricultural exports cannot possibly solve America's problems or the world's needs. Nor can the patchwork of trade, tax and other proposals offered to the Congress as the Trade Reform Act of 1973. Solutions and requests for power are not the same. They cannot substitute for a comprehensive policy that demonstrates recognition of new realities.

America's traditional prowess in world trade had been based on high wages and high productivity, on technology and efficiency of operations, manpower skills, large volume of output and a highly educated population—as well as the availability of raw materials and sources of energy.

New factors, like the internationalization of technology, multinational corporations and banks, mangled national economies with subsidies for exports and barriers to imports have changed the trade relationships of labor rates and unit costs in recent years. Foreign trade has been increasingly affected by these changes. The problems will probably get worse if the forecast of shortages of energy and raw materials come to pass, unless there is a basic change in policy.

Amidst these new factors the choice is no longer the cliches of free trade vs. protectionism. Instead, the United States must base its policy on its strength—the American people, its free institutions, its schools and skills, its standard of living, its research and development, as well as its varied resources at home.

The world is still a world of nation-states. The U.S. government and the Congress can adopt policies only for this government and the American people. Such policies may then be used to work with other nations to achieve a mutually improving world. To seek world goals and ignore national needs is to destroy the objectives of a prosperous United States in a prosperous world economy.

The Foreign Trade and Investment Act of 1973, the Burke-Hartke bill, is an effort to provide a framework for dealing specifically, with the causes of America's deteriorating position in international economic relationships.

The Burke-Hartke bill would provide government regulation and restraint of the export of American technology and capital—regulation not elimination. It would remove the tax subsidies and other incentives that encourage U.S. companies to establish foreign subsidiary operations.

It would also set up a "sliding-door" limitation on most imports, except on those goods that are not produced here or that are in short supply—a "sliding-door" limitation, not a high wall

to block out imports. Quotas would be related to the level of American production. In fact, imports would be guaranteed a share of the American market and would be permitted to increase as American production increases. But imports would not be permitted to flood American markets and quickly wipe out American industries.

Until the framework of Burke-Hartke is part of U.S. law, the government should enforce laws that now exist. The Administration can now direct agencies to stop the brokering of low-wage labor markets abroad by U.S. government officials, to stop encouraging destructive imports, to control exports of agricultural products and raw materials in short supply, to help injured industries when U.S. production and jobs have been lost, to discourage easy export of American technology, to check the outflow of U.S. capital and insist on the accurate and detailed reporting of trade flows, to require labelling of foreign-made products, to enforce already enacted consumer laws for safety, health and labelling.

Congress should retain its constitutional power to regulate interstate and foreign commerce, to levy taxes and other powers by insisting that each individual non-tariff barrier, whether product standards, tax changes or tariff classification, be carefully examined by Congress in public hearings before any international agreement is reached and that all international agreements to change non-tariff barriers be on an ad referendum basis.

Congress should reject the Administration's trade package of October 1, 1972 which would provide most-favored-nation status for Soviet exports to the U.S. and the extension of large-scale credits for Russian purchase of American goods and technological know-how.

Congress should deny the granting of preferential entry (duty-free or special tariff status) either partially or wholly from any country which subsidizes exports, grants tax subsidies to foreign investors or requires production or investment within its country.

A healthy diversified industrial U.S. economy is essential for the sound expansion of trade of other nations, both developed and developing. U.S. market shares can be available for others only if both their own markets and U.S. markets are expanding. The United States must therefore gear its own policies to putting its house in order. Other parts of the world economic structure will not be aided by further disruptions of the U.S. economic productive strength.

The national interest of the United States within its borders is the primary responsibility of the United States government—with full recognition that this nation can join with other nations to pursue the advance of the world economy. The employment and labor standards impact of the new changes in world economic relationships must be carefully identified in detail so that working people are not compelled to bear most of the burden of such changes.

The trade bill reported out by the House Ways and Means Committee grants excessive power to the President. It provides no specific machinery to regulate the flood of imports. It does not deal with the export of U.S. technology and capital to other parts of the world where multinational corporations can maximize profits and minimize costs at the expense of U.S. production and jobs. It does nothing to close the lucrative tax loopholes for American-based multinational corporations which make it more profitable for them to locate and produce abroad. It does not repeal items 806.30 and 807 of the tariff code, which encourage foreign assembly and production of goods for sale in the U.S. Moreover, the bill permits continued extension of low-interest loans by U.S. Government agencies to the Soviet Union.

This bill, known as the Trade Reform Act of 1973, H.R. 10710, is worse than no bill at all. The AFL-CIO urges defeat of this bill and asks for comprehensive new policies to restore America's social and economic strength in international relationships.

### **Consumer Protection**

The AFL-CIO urges congressional action on a broad range of longstanding consumer protection proposals and prompt attention to new reform proposals as they arise.

We attach strong importance to the establishment of a Federal Consumer Protection Agency to represent consumer interests before other agencies of the government.

The agency's principal involvement should be with programs that regulate businesses in behalf of the public on such matters as rate-fixing, safety and performance of consumer products and services and with agencies that enforce fair and honest business dealings with the consuming public. Such regulatory programs should clearly have the benefit of a strong and competent representation of consumer views and not merely the heavy inputs of well-represented business views which have too often dominated the actions and inactions of such agencies in the past.

### **Manpower**

The key to an effective manpower policy is job creation. Training services and improvements in the administration of manpower programs are important and necessary but they are not ends in themselves. Training must be followed by a job if it is to have any value. Administrative decentralization and flexibility are not substitutes for job creation and job development.

Full employment is the basic prerequisite for an effective and comprehensive national manpower policy. Sustained full employment can establish the economic environment for management to maintain adequate apprenticeship, training and upgrading efforts. Since most manpower training in the American economy is obtained on the job, full employment is the needed framework for adequate manpower training of the workforce.

When the regular job-creating channels in the economy, both private and public, do not create enough jobs, the federal government must provide sufficient funds for a large-scale public-service employment program. Such a program to create jobs for the unemployed and seriously under-employed would provide badly needed services in hospitals, schools, fire and police departments, recreational facilities, sanitation, pollution controls, and other state, local, and federal government facilities. It would help the unemployed and it would help financially hard-pressed state and local governments improve and increase their public services.

In the establishment of manpower programs, in both the private and public sectors, we insist on provision of adequate wage and working standards. Wages under these programs should be at least at the level of the federal minimum wage or the prevailing rate of pay for the occupation, whichever is higher. Manpower programs should not be used to subsidize low-wage, substandard employers and to undermine the wage and working conditions of other workers, to aid runaways, to subsidize high labor turnover or jobs which do not call for training before hire.

The AFL-CIO and its affiliates will maintain a close watch over the administration of manpower legislation and we will bring to the attention of Congress those actions which ignore the will and intent of Congress. We insist upon fulfillment of requirements in manpower legislation that labor organizations directly involved have ample opportunity to comment on proposals from manpower program agents.

National manpower policy must assure continued support for labor union-sponsored programs such as Apprenticeship Outreach, on-the-job training, and the AFL-CIO's Human Resources Development Institute. And it must assure continuing opportunity for labor representation and labor participation in manpower planning at the state and local level.

The needed comprehensive national manpower policy would bring together all federally-supported manpower programs under a federal, centrally consolidated administration in the Department of Labor.

As part of such consolidation, we urge that the U.S. Employment Service be federalized. At present, there are 50 state systems. An effective, nationwide employment service should be

established to meet the needs of workers and employers on a national basis. In any such consolidation or reorganization, the employment rights of affected workers with regard to pensions, collective bargaining, and other benefits must be protected.

Until federalization is accomplished, we urge that steps be taken immediately to strengthen the ability of the U.S. Employment Service to enforce higher standards of performance by state employment service agencies and to assure that the service will pattern its operations according to the needs of workers and employers, to match workers with job-openings and not be hemmed in by community and state boundaries.

We oppose the Administration's manpower revenue sharing proposal which represents an abdication of federal responsibility to state and local governments in administration and development of manpower programs. It would allocate manpower funds to state and local governments with practically no strings attached. It would jeopardize the existence of such national programs as the Job Corps. It fails to establish adequate protection of labor standards.

A comprehensive national manpower program must be national in scope. It would retain overall federal control of policy and direction, while sharing administration of programs with state and local governments. It would assure a comprehensive approach with consolidation and coordination of all manpower activities under a central administration and, at the same time, retain such significant categorical programs as the Job Corps. In addition, it should have enough flexibility to allow the emphasis to be shifted from one type of program to another, as the situation might warrant; to give special manpower aid to depressed areas; to provide specialized training and job assistance to groups with special manpower needs; and to provide for a large-scale public-service employment program.

## Tax Reform

The federal tax structure is replete with loopholes of special privilege for wealthy individuals and corporations. It is rigged against wages and salaries—against income from work. It is rigged in favor of unearned income.

The AFL-CIO is firmly convinced that there is an inseparable relationship between justice in taxation and the willingness of citizens to support their government and be confident that their government is acting in their best interests.

And, so long as the loopholes of special tax privilege for those with wealth and taxpaying ability are perpetuated the federal government's ability to meet the needs of the nation will continue to be severely limited.

We are also convinced, in light of the record of the present Administration, that it is up to Congress to see that workers pay no more and no less than their fair share of the nation's tax burden and that wealthy individuals and corporations do the same.

We therefore call upon Congress to respond to the need for justice in taxation, public confidence, economic balance and adequate federal funds through enactment of a thoroughgoing program of loophole closing which would raise at least \$20 billion in revenue.

We recommend speedy adoption of the following major reforms.

1. Closing of the Capital Gains loopholes. The preferential half-tax which applies to gains on unearned income from stocks or other property sold at a profit and the zero tax that applies to such gains when passed on at death are the most disruptive elements in our tax structure. Closing these loopholes could raise as much as \$10 billion in annual revenue.

2. Enactment of an excess profit tax. The AFL-CIO has continually conditioned its support for economic controls on the equity of their application. Controls, when necessary, must be even-handed in their treatment of wages, prices, rents, profits, dividends, interest rates and other forms of income.

It is our view that so long as profits are unchecked while wages and salaries are restrained, the test of equity is not met. And, the only effective way to achieve profit restraint is through taxation. An excess profits tax, modeled after the one in effect during the Korean War Stabilization period (July 1, 1950-December 31, 1953) could raise annual revenues of over \$4 billion.

3. Elimination of the tax subsidies for corporations investing and profiting overseas. The major provisions are the tax deferral gimmick, which permits U.S. corporations to pay no U.S. income taxes on the profits of their foreign subsidiaries until such profits are brought home—which may be never—and the foreign tax credit scheme which permits corporations to credit taxes paid to foreign governments, dollar for dollar, against their U.S. tax liability. These loopholes cost over \$3 billion in annual tax revenues. And, more important, these provisions are contributing to the export of U.S. jobs, the erosion of the nation's industrial base and the blighting of American communities.

4. Immediate elimination of the three business tax-giveaways contained in the Revenue Act of 1971. These provisions amount to a permanent cut in corporate tax rates of 15-20 percent. The investment credit and the depreciation speed-up are currently costing the Treasury and the American taxpayer some \$5.5 billion per year. Moreover, these provisions are significant factors in the imbalances in the current economic expansion. They are adding inflation and contributing substantially to the current clearly unsustainable boom in business investment.

The third gimmick—the Domestic International Sales Corporation (DISC)—permits corporations to spin off into export subsidiaries in order to defer taxes—perhaps indefinitely—on export income. Its revenue cost is currently some \$100 million per year and the loss is expected to rise continually. By 1980, DISC is estimated to cost \$600 million in revenue foregone. Moreover, this provision is subsidizing the export of commodities that are in short supply at home adding additional pressure to living costs.

5. The special tax privileges for corporations in the oil, gas and other mineral industries such as excess depletion should be completely ended. These cost some \$3 billion in annual revenue foregone.

6. The tax exemption for interest income from state and local bonds should be disallowed. This provision benefits only banks and the very wealthy. Such income should be taxed in full with the federal government guaranteeing the bonds and providing an interest-subsidy to assure that the fiscal powers of the state and local governments are not hampered.

7. The maximum-tax provision, an uncalled-for tax bonanza to top corporate executives and others whose income comes from very high fees and salaries, should be eliminated. The yearly revenue gain would be \$200 million.

8. There should be an end to the many opportunities for the wealthy to shelter and wash-out otherwise taxable income through investments in mineral exploration and oil drilling ventures, real estate, hobby farms and the like. Revenue losses from these tax avoidance opportunities total over \$1.5 billion annually.

9. In addition to the reforms in the federal individual and corporate income tax, a major overhaul of federal estate and gift taxes is a prerequisite to the achievement of tax justice. Present law provides unnecessary exemptions and a host of opportunities to minimize, or postpone tax payments for generations, through devices such as family foundations and generation skipping trusts.

Eliminating some of the more glaring loopholes in the estate and gift taxation could generate some \$3 billion in federal revenue.

Finally, the AFL-CIO urges a continuing vigil to assure the rejection of all tax devices and gimmicks that run counter to the goals of tax justice. These include proposals such as the value-added tax, which is simply a national sales tax masquerading under a new name; the addition of new so-called business tax-incentive schemes; tax relief subsidies for individuals who prefer to send their children to non-public schools or giveaways under guises such as pension reform or property tax relief. Such measures are haphazard, costly and wasteful approaches to meeting national goals. They reward those who need it least, at the expense of those who need it most.

## Financing State and Local Governments

The AFL-CIO has a long history of advocacy and support for measures to meet America's public investment needs. The nation's major domestic problems are still rooted in the shortages of services and facilities that are traditionally and appropriately the responsibility of government. Though much that is needed can and should be administered and financed at the state and local government level, it is the federal government—which represents all of the American people—that holds the key.

We are deeply concerned over the fact that the present Administration through its attempt to dismantle essential programs is seriously jeopardizing the federal, state and local partnership to build America.

We believe that there is much that the states and localities must do to improve their public investment capabilities. At the same time, the federal government's role must be continued and strengthened.

State and local tax structures must be made equitable and productive. The states must increase reliance on progressive income-tax structures that are based on the principle of ability-to-pay. At the same time, efforts should be made to minimize the inequities of sales and property taxes. Items such as food and medicine should not be taxed; credits and rebates against the state income tax should be permitted to ease the burden of sales and property taxes on low- and moderate-income groups. And, unjustifiable exemptions and the all too often scandalous administration of local property taxes must be corrected.

There is an essential need for effective modernization of state and local governments. Such efforts should include elimination of obsolete or restrictive constitutional constraints, an increased role of the states in supporting certain local functions—particularly elementary and secondary education—and the consolidation of inefficient local units of government.

Substantial increases are needed in the flow of federal categorical grants-in-aid to the states and local governments for specific programs in the nation's interest, such as education, manpower training, health and hospitals, metropolitan transportation, air- and water-pollution control, urban renewal and public service jobs. So-called "special revenue sharing programs" and other attempts to cut back the federal government's commitment to such essential programs should be rejected.

Federal grant-in-aid programs should be fully funded and monies already appropriated by the Congress should be made available to the state and local governments as quickly as possible.

There should be a thorough review of present federal categorical grants-in-aid. Such a review should aim at consolidating overlapping grants, increasing their efficiency, re-examining

matching-fund formulas, and making it easier for state and local officials to be aware of and obtain the federal aids available to them. However, the purposes, performance standards and requirements of the programs must be safeguarded in any consolidating and streamlining of grant programs.

We call upon the appropriate committees of Congress to begin oversight hearings with regard to the distribution and use of revenue sharing funds. The goal of such hearings should be to assure that all government units fully comply with the minimal restraints the law does place on the use of such funds; to lead to the development of appropriate standards and safeguards, correct and prevent abuses and assure national priorities are being served; and in the event that the abuses prove uncorrectable, to recommend that Congress abolish the program and redirect the funds into appropriate categorical grant-in-aid programs.

There should be a full federal take-over of the costs of public welfare and speedy enactment of a national health security program. Such actions would relieve the states and localities of a huge financial burden and, at the same time, eliminate two of America's most grievous public-service failures.

Institutions such as a federal urban bank should be developed to provide states and localities with easier access to long-term, low-interest loans for the construction of public housing, urban transit systems, and other community facilities.

A federal tax credit for state income-tax payments should be enacted to take the place of the present method of deducting such taxes from taxable income. This would add equity to the federal tax structure and at the same time encourage the states to improve their tax structures by increasing their reliance on income taxes based upon ability-to-pay.

## The Environment

Authorizations for the sewage plant construction program enacted by the 1972 amendments to the Federal Water Pollution Control Act should be fully honored by congressional appropriations. The Clean Air Act program must be given the financial and manpower resources to accelerate its enforcement and research activities, and monitoring the effectiveness of non-federal abatement programs.

Pending enactment of legislation to establish a national long-range solid-waste effort after the present act elapses next year, Congress should appropriate the necessary funds to restore the federal program to effectiveness during this period.

Legislation—at any government level—which seeks to resolve this problem by restricting the sale or use of non-returnable containers, regardless of the unemployment and other negative consequences, should be opposed. This Convention goes on record in

support of effective anti-littering legislation.

The federal government must expand its efforts in developing techniques for disposing solid wastes, recovering valuable materials from wastes and for using wastes in new ways such as fuels. The federal government should provide funds to local governments in establishing alternate measures for disposing of solid wastes.

Legislation to prevent environmental blackmail should be enacted to apply to all pollution abatement programs at all levels of government. It is equally important to pursue passage and funding of adequate unemployment compensation, other financial assistance, retraining and relocation programs for workers, who may lose jobs as a result of environmental control activities.

Restrictions on over-use by automobiles and other intrusions on areas of the national parks system, should be established to protect these priceless national assets so that they can continue to enrich the lives of future generations of Americans.

Congress should establish and fund a program to acquire land for the development of regional, state and local recreation areas easily accessible to large population centers.

Legislation to establish a national solid waste program should contain these elements: An expansion of the federal role in developing, implementing and enforcing standards for disposing of solid waste; required federal reporting for all entities dumping solid wastes into the environment; acceleration of technologies to solve the problem of disposal, collection, separation and re-use. Full consideration should be given to the human values affected, particularly on employment in both the private and public sectors.

America is in dire need of a national land use policy to enhance the quality of the land environment, guard against monopoly and speculation, and provide the framework for programs which will be responsive to the economic and social needs of the nation.

Such a policy should include federal grants-in-aid to assist state and local governments and regional entities in improving existing programs, adopting broad land-use laws, including prevention of speculation, or uncontrolled commercialization; enhancing opportunities for acquiring land for low-income housing and public recreation; and a national study of taxes that affect land-use.

Federal programs to improve land-use planning and programs on federally owned lands, should guard against ecological damage from mining operations, particularly strip mining, and soil erosion. Over-exploitation of merchantable timber in our National Forests by the devices of clear cutting and excessive harvesting, in violation of sustained yield principles, should be prevented.

Federal legislation to prevent or reduce ecological damage from strip mining on all lands, and to require effective reclamation of such lands should be enacted by the Congress.

The internal combustion engine is the major source of air pollution and the major drain on petroleum fuels. The AFL-CIO proposes creation by Congress of a high-priority federal research and development program to seek alternative feasible sources of power for motor vehicles.

Burning of coal, particularly in power plants, is not only a major source of pollution from sulfur oxides of sulfur but, because of antipollution programs, prevents the full use of coal with high sulfur content. The expansion of EPA programs to develop effective technologies, to reduce emissions of sulfur from coal burning facilities should be given high priority and adequate resources.

Continued support is pledged to the principle of family farm ownership, the breakup of huge land monopolies, and strict enforcement of the 160 acre and anti-speculation provisions of federal reclamation laws.

## Energy

America must develop a comprehensive national energy policy to foster and sustain full employment, protect and preserve the environment, benefit the consumer, prevent and reduce monopoly, and eliminate wasteful and duplicative activities among existing federal agencies.

We once again propose the creation of a statutory Council on National Energy Policy.

There should be created a single national federal energy agency which would combine various scattered federal program functions.

We support legislation, passed by the Senate, requiring a mandatory nationwide oil and gas allocation plan, and requiring oil companies to provide data on reserves and distribution systems.

We oppose all efforts in the Congress to deregulate natural gas pipeline companies.

We urge swift implementation of the Alaska oil pipeline act, with full recognition of the need to safeguard environmental interests as well as to speed the vital additions to America's petroleum supplies.

We again urge creation of TVA-type energy fuel development agencies, including oil shale, to bring forth new and expand existing supplies, overcome technological and environmental problems and provide a cost yardstick for the benefit of consumers.

We reiterate our call for legislation to create a large-scale bulk-electric national electric power supply grid system for the nation, open to all utilities, regulated by the federal government, and operated with proper environmental safeguards.

present 22 percent depletion allowance from taxable income on oil extracted from foreign sources, and eliminate the credit from U.S. taxes paid to foreign governments by U.S. oil companies on income from foreign operations.

The long-range energy needs of America and the stability of the national economy require immediate measures to secure America's self-sufficiency through development of varied and alternative energy resources and technologies. That is why we most strongly recommend enactment by Congress of legislation that would mobilize the nation's scientific and technological resources through a 10-year, \$20 billion crash program to expand existing and develop alternative energy resources—including advanced nuclear power technology, oil shale development, improved utilization of coal resources, electric power technology, conservation of fuels and energy and modes of transportation.

The performance of the oil industry in meeting its obligation to supply the energy needs of the American people should be reviewed by Congress to determine whether the oil industry is a public utility and should be subject to interstate regulation by the federal government.

We also call for congressional review of national policy with regard to the foreign operations of the oil industry. The investigation of natural gas prices and the role of the gas pipeline industry by the Senate Anti-Trust and Monopoly Subcommittee has begun to show the outlines of deception on the extent of natural gas reserves, to escalate rates, and we endorse the continuance of these hearings and their expansion into the oil industry. The Federal Trade Commission investigations should be continued and the commission should support its staff recommendation for the Justice Department to undertake anti-trust action against the major oil companies, concerning their combination of crude oil functions with wholesale and retail marketing of petroleum products.

To conserve existing supplies of vital energy fuels, we again urge national efforts to expand the uses of mass transportation, to produce automobiles with lower horsepower and to develop lower fuel-using alternatives to the internal combustion engine which would also produce less pollution.

At the present time, there are no U.S.-flag tankers regularly engaged in carrying imported oil from foreign sources to the United States. To end this dependence on both foreign sources and foreign transportation for U.S. consumption of oil and petroleum products, Congress must legislate a guarantee that a fair share of all imported petroleum cargoes be carried in U.S.-flag ships. Such legislation would provide the development of an American tanker capability that would be in the best interests of national security, the economy, and a more favorable balance of payments position, and would result in creating thousands of

jobs in the construction and operation of such a fleet.

If America does not solve its immediate and long-range energy needs, the effects upon its economy, social and political institutions and national security could be disastrous. Congressional action is needed now to create a solid foundation for meeting America's growing energy needs.

### **Waste and Environment**

WHEREAS, Environmental groups that mean well but are not fully informed on all issues involved continue to press for job-destroying legislation at local, state and national levels of government, and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO and its 14 million members are as desirous of a clean environment as any group, since the working man's family depends on such an environment for their primary recreational pursuits, and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO Executive Council while urging restraints on ill-conceived legislation which would destroy thousands of job opportunities thus creating more problems than such legislation could hope to solve, and

WHEREAS, The concept of "resource reduction"—the advocacy of reduced production of various goods as a means of conserving resources and improving the environment—is a negative approach which would serve to diminish the living standards of Americans in all walks of life, and

WHEREAS, The trade union movement has long contended the positive concept is resource recovery, by which the nation makes worthwhile use of its waste in ways for which technology already exists, and

WHEREAS, The realization of this goal depends on a broadly expanded federal program of development and assistance in putting this technology to work, and

WHEREAS, Efforts to obtain such a federal program are undermined by the environmental advocates who continue to spread the erroneous doctrine that legislation can solve the solid waste and resource preservation problems, and

WHEREAS, Adoption of such legislation would have a staggering impact on the national economy by eliminating well-paying jobs and substituting for them lower-paying jobs, thus reducing the cash flow in the business world, creating conditions which would cost still more jobs, and

WHEREAS, This cutback in the national economy would cause serious tax losses at all levels of government, resulting in a need to cut back or eliminate essential programs which have been developed over years of effort; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That the delegates to this Tenth Biennial Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations firmly reject the contention that jobs must be sacrificed to preserve the environment, and be it further

**RESOLVED:** That this Convention is on record as opposing any such legislation that would destroy workers' jobs in the name of protecting the environment, and be it further

**RESOLVED:** That the Convention endorses the concept that the only successful means of preserving our resources and solving our solid waste problem is through an imaginative system of resource recovery through which we can transform waste into useful materials, and be it further

**RESOLVED:** That this Convention urges members of Congress, environmental leaders and industry to turn their thinking in that direction and proceed to insist that the federal government embark on a far-reaching program to achieve that goal.

### **Farm and Food Policy**

WHEREAS, In the whole fiasco of price stabilization, the most massive and tragic failure has been food costs. By July of 1973, the average family was paying 21 percent more for food than in July 1971. And from July to August of this year, the Wholesale Price Index of farm products and processed foods rose an additional 19.3 percent, and

WHEREAS, The real dynamic in food price inflation results chiefly from the Administration's agricultural policy itself. This policy avoided even a pretense of controlling farm prices. In addition, it purposefully created pressures for massive price increases, and

WHEREAS, Nixon Administration officials must have been aware in 1971 and 1972 of a steadily rising demand for farm products both at home and abroad. Instead of acting to expand production, they actually made farm output contract. Payments to farmers for keeping good land idle in 1971 increased by one billion dollars. In 1972, more than five billion dollars of federal money was spent to keep 60 million acres of farm land out of use. In 1972, total U.S. acres under cultivation were 298 million as compared with 310 million in 1971 and more than 360 million in some previous years, and

WHEREAS, Many observers called attention to the sharply increasing demand for food, urged major shifts in agricultural policy, and strongly urged that farmers be rewarded for maximizing production instead of being subsidized for keeping their land idle. Many observers pointed to the need for sharply expanded production as a means of feeding the hungry in the U.S. and overseas at a reasonable price. But the Administration paid no heed, and

WHEREAS, Since the beginning of 1973, the Administration has claimed to emphasize expansion of farm output. From its statements, one would think it saw the error of its ways, but what little action it did take was too little and too late. The total number of U.S. acres now under cultivation is scarcely 4 percent greater than it was in 1971. In 1973, the most optimistic estimates predict an increase of food production amounting to scarcely 3 percent, and

WHEREAS, Food consumption by Americans is expected to show a slight decrease in 1973. With the average price of meat, vegetables, fruit and other foods rising over the whole period of "economic stabilization" at an average rate of more than one percent a month, the millions of this nation are suffering in their food bills and consumption because of the dangerously mistaken Administration policies, and

WHEREAS, To cover up these errors, Secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz and the agri-business interests for which he speaks, have attempted to pin on American workers the responsibility for food price increases. Such propaganda is in vicious conflict with the facts. The price of the average family's annual food bill has risen by \$267 in the past two years. Of that amount, more than \$223 or 83.5 percent has gone to the agricultural sector of the economy. In the two-year period, prices for farm products rose 46 percent, but all costs—including profits, taxes and wages—for food processing, wholesaling and retailing increased only 5.6 percent, and

WHEREAS, While farm prices rose sharply, all workers of the food industry had been singled out for continued, stringent wage controls in Phases III and IV. They have been rigidly limited to the 5.5 percent "guidelines." The \$3.80 an hour average earning level for food industry workers compares unfavorably with an average of \$4.04 an hour earning in all manufacturing industry. Hundreds of thousands of workers in the food industry exist at poverty levels of earnings, and

WHEREAS, Congress passed new farm legislation in August over Administration opposition. It establishes a new system of target prices to buttress farm income while encouraging massive production. This legislation is a major victory for the groups, such as the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen,

which called for a change from the agricultural policy of subsidizing scarcity. But it is not a complete victory, for the system of setting aside farm acreage remains available for resurrection at any time; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: By the Tenth Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO that:

(1) Restrictions on the use of farm land must be ended. While there are food shortages at home and abroad, the available millions of U.S. acres must be brought into use.

(2) For working farmers there must be solid guarantees that increased production will bring adequate income. Income guarantees must be made effective for them along with curbs on the speculative greed of agri-business corporations.

(3) Farm exports should be controlled to balance the goals of meeting both our responsibility for ameliorating the world's grave problem of hunger and the need for protecting the living standards and economic welfare of this nation's 210 million people.

### Anti-Poverty Program

Poverty is not a community, state or regional problem; it is a national problem. While it is concentrated in some areas more than others, it permeates all corners of this country. Therefore, the only response, the only commitment equal to the task of reducing or eliminating poverty is a national one. Only the federal government can establish the policies necessary to assure that all who seek employment, education, housing, health services and other assistance will have the opportunity to obtain what they need and desire.

The AFL-CIO urges Congress not to depend on general or special revenue sharing to respond to the needs of the poor. Congress should authorize and appropriate sufficient funds to be used specifically to maintain existing or encourage new programs to help the poor out of poverty.

The AFL-CIO recognizes the need for the poor to have an advocate within the federal Administration and an institution at the local level to see that their legitimate concerns are heard and responded to. Therefore, we urge Congress to reject the effort of the Administration to dismantle OEO and to remove federal funding earmarked for community action agencies and other essential OEO functions.

The AFL-CIO opposes the aim of the Administration to reverse the progress made in the past 8 years by the blanket transfer of anti-poverty programs to old-line agencies under the guise of efficiency. While some transfers may have some validity, others are simply a means of downgrading programs at

reduced funding levels.

We support the maintenance of OEO as the federal anti-poverty agency and as an advocate within the federal establishment to assure that programs administered by other federal agencies are responsive to the needs of the poor.

We recommend that OEO retain administrative responsibility for community action programs, special impact programs and research and development activities concerned with alleviating the problems of the poor.

The AFL-CIO urges Congress to provide direct federal support to community action agencies rather than leave them to state and local administrators, responsible for the allocation of revenue sharing funds. Direct federal support should be continued at least at the present level.

We support the concept of a private, nonprofit Legal Services Corporation with the authority to function in legitimate legal areas for the poor.

The AFL-CIO urges Congress to reaffirm its faith in the war-on-poverty by maintaining OEO as an adequately funded independent agency committed to helping the poor move into the mainstream of our society.

## Housing

The AFL-CIO has a long history of supporting federal efforts to provide adequate housing for all Americans. State and local central bodies and affiliated internationals have translated that commitment into action in the sponsorship of over 150 federally assisted housing projects for the low- and moderate-income and the elderly. The failure of the current Administration to take the present housing crisis seriously necessitates a continuing and intensified effort on the part of labor to direct the Administration's attention to this priority concern.

Toward this goal, we support and recommend:

1. The development of a comprehensive national housing strategy that reaffirms, as a priority concern, the federal government's commitment to assuring that all Americans are adequately housed. Such a strategy should be interrelated with a national growth and land use policy that recognizes the complex relationship between the inadequacy of housing in rural areas and the urban housing crisis. It should consider the housing needs of the increasing number of households, including working households, that find themselves unable to afford housing in the private market and should carefully assess the haphazard housing-employment patterns that have developed in this country.

2. An urban development bank should be established that would assist in financing the capital expenditures of state and local governments and non-profit quasi-governmental organizations that are pursuing public policies, with priority given to those

projects that are supportive of low- and moderate-income housing.

3. A reaffirmation by the Administration of the national housing goals as defined in terms of specific targets, established in 1968, unless such goals can be shown to be invalid. This reaffirmation should include the immediate reinstitution of the subsidy programs so abruptly suspended until better programs are proposed and adopted, since the subsidy programs constitute the only existing vehicles for continuing this nation's progress toward meeting the targeted housing goals for low- and moderate-income families. There should be efforts to assure that these programs are adequately funded and that necessary management reforms are implemented so that the success of these programs is not distorted any further by unscrupulous persons. There should also be a new emphasis on technical assistance to housing sponsors so that the maximum benefit can be derived from these programs at the minimum cost.

4. The acceleration of efforts to develop national policies that will address the issues at the heart of rising costs: financing costs and land costs.

5. Financial institutions, including pension funds, should be given a greater incentive to make money available for home mortgages. If need be, they should be required to use a certain portion of their assets in socially useful purposes—i.e. to invest in low- and moderate-income housing. Interest rates must be reduced and kept at a level to assure housing within the means of those who need it. Proposals such as direct low-interest, long-term loans should be carefully considered, while the pursuit of gimmicks that can only prove harmful to the housing consumer—i.e. the variable interest rate system—should be abandoned.

6. A national land use policy should be developed that assures that land for low- and moderate-income housing is made available at a reasonable cost. Efforts such as those being made under the New Communities Program—where developers set aside land to be sold at less than market prices so as to assure the production of lower-income housing—should be supported.

7. The establishment of a formal, legislative link between community development programs and housing programs. Support in terms of accelerated federal aid for such facilities as mass transit systems, schools, parks, waste treatment facilities and other pollution abatement facilities should be provided to those communities involved in the production of housing for lower-income households. Proposals that fail to recognize the crucial link between housing and community development—such as the special revenue sharing proposal for community development embodied in the Administration's Better Communities Act—should be rejected as an irresponsible solution to a matter of critical importance.

8. The acceleration of affirmative efforts to implement already existing fair housing laws, as well as an expanded action pro-

gram to gain acceptance for legislation and/or regulations that would further restrict existing discrimination in housing opportunity. Such efforts should include activities aimed at ending financial discrimination in mortgage lending practices and the promotion of regional housing mechanisms designed to assure that the exclusionary practices of local communities, whether in the guise of "good planning," or "environmental control," do not limit housing opportunities for minority households.

9. A study be undertaken by the AFL-CIO to provide a survey of housing needs and a strategy for meeting housing goals for low and moderate income families.

### AFL-CIO Mortgage Investment Trust

Trustees and managers of union general treasury funds and of labor-management pension and welfare funds should examine all available investment alternatives, carefully considering the social benefits of each, while bearing in mind the requirements of security, liquidity and reasonable yield. This recommendation is made while acknowledging that many corporate trustees, investment counselors, and fund managers will need active encouragement to consider investment opportunities which remove funds from their control and which may depart from their traditional orientation to and preference for the more speculative commission producing, and customary common stock portfolio.

Up to 30 percent of the reserves of union general treasury and union pension funds should be voluntarily invested in federally insured or guaranteed mortgages and construction loans.

International unions and state and local central bodies should participate to the greatest extent feasible in the AFL-CIO Mortgage Investment Trust, and all international unions should cooperate in placing information about the trust before their affiliated locals and the trustees of the various pension funds.

### Minimum Wage Veto

WHEREAS, President Nixon has callously and vindictively killed minimum wage increases and maximum hours improvements for some six million of America's poorest workers. His veto and his lobbying to sustain it have prevented the first rise in the minimum wage since 1968 from going into effect, and

WHEREAS, The justifications which the President set forth in his veto message have been correctly characterized as "myths" by President George Meany. They could actually be called "lies." The Nixon argument that a minimum wage increase from \$1.60 to \$2.00 an hour is inflationary when food costs have jumped 38 percent dazzles the imagination. The Nixon argument

that the minimum wage increases cause unemployment when the official reports of all Secretaries of Labor—including President Nixon's own—prove the opposite is beyond understanding, and

WHEREAS, The fact is that President Nixon vetoed the minimum wage bill to repay campaign contributions to his re-election campaign. Some corporations sought to buy cheap labor with their generous—and sometimes illegal—gifts to the Nixon political campaign. They have so far succeeded, and

WHEREAS, The result of the Nixon actions is: The lowest paid workers are still employed at 1968 wages despite their cost of living having gone up by nearly one-third. Welfare payments in 22 states are higher today than the minimum wage for hard working men and women. Unconscionable minimum wage and overtime exemptions continue to exist in the Fair Labor Standards Act to permit the exploitation of American workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the Tenth Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO absolutely and completely condemns the veto by President Nixon of the minimum wage bill, and be it further

RESOLVED: That this Convention reaffirms the determination of all AFL-CIO affiliates and subsidiary bodies to continue maximum efforts for the enactment of legislation to increase the minimum wage substantially and to provide universal coverage with a uniform single floor for wages of all workers, regardless of age, sex, race, creed or color.

### Regulation of the American Oil Industry

WHEREAS, Oil, the largest source of primary energy, is the fuel Americans depend on most. The domestic shortage of this resource has adversely affected every aspect of our lives, and

WHEREAS, The lack of sufficient oil and its derived products last winter forced the closing of schools in Colorado, Kansas and other states; shut factories in Minnesota, Illinois, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana and Georgia; halted Midwest grain processing and shipping; and disrupted air, rail, truck and bus service throughout the nation, and

WHEREAS, The fuel oil shortage was followed by a gasoline shortage. Many service stations had their supply of gasoline cut back or shut off by the major oil companies. To discourage demand and to avoid a complete and costly shutdown of their operations, many stations were forced to ration whatever gasoline they had and to sell it at a higher price to consumers. The result was that independent gasoline retailers were being systematically driven out of business, and the American consumer was paying more for whatever gasoline he could obtain, and

WHEREAS, The United States government has, through the years, adopted various programs designed to avoid such shortages. To insure that the people of the United States have a secure and sufficient supply of domestic oil available at a reasonable cost, the American oil industry has been given economic incentives, including the oil depletion allowance and the intangible drilling deduction, and

WHEREAS, This system of incentives has not been administered by the oil industry in a manner consistent with national goals. Rather, the United States now finds itself dependent on foreign sources of oil for more than 30 percent of its supply and faces the prospect of more than 50 percent dependency by the 1980's, and

WHEREAS, The oil industry, instead of investing in American operations, has used the money saved through tax incentives to invest in foreign operations. From 1968-1971, American oil companies increased their capital expenditures for foreign production by 33.2 percent. Yet, the allocation for domestic production decreased by 31.9 percent. During the same period, these companies increased their expenditures for American refineries by only 34 percent, whereas 88.6 percent more was spent on foreign refinery operations in 1971 than 1968, and

WHEREAS, By the end of 1971, following a foreign investment five times greater than their American investment, the oil companies owned three times as many foreign-flag tankers as American-flag tankers. Even more striking is the fact that America's oil companies used foreign-flag tankers to transport from 95 to 97 percent of our imported oil, and

WHEREAS, The American oil companies have used their wealth and size to decrease and, in some instances, eliminate competition at all levels within the petroleum industry. Price fixing, price wars, company agreements—all have, for too long, been common oil industry practices that have inevitably led to higher consumer prices, and

WHEREAS, If the United States is to survive as an industrial nation, past oil industry practices must be corrected. The government must control how money saved through tax incentives is invested by the oil companies.

Exploration and production must be increased domestically.

America's refining capacity must be expanded.

As long as we import oil, there must be a large portion of oil carried on American-flag tankers, and

WHEREAS, The Government must have access to oil company financial records to determine if a fair tax rate is being paid and if prices charged to consumers are reasonable, and

WHEREAS, As the AFL-CIO Executive Council urged in May, Congress should immediately review national policy with regard to the foreign operations of the oil industry, as well as the performance of the oil industry in meeting its obligations to the American people. It is time for the United States to take action—action which recognizes the vital role oil plays in every American's life; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges Congress to review the performance of America's oil industry in meeting its obligation to supply the energy needs of the American people at reasonable and competitive price levels, and to determine whether or not the oil industry is in fact a public utility and therefore subject to interstate regulation by the Federal government, as are other public utilities.

### Oil Industry Tax Breaks

WHEREAS, For the first time in its peacetime history, the United States finds itself in the midst of a severe energy crisis. From a nation self-sufficient in its energy resources, the United States now has become increasingly dependent on foreign sources for oil. We now import more than 30 percent of our oil needs. And that figure is expected to rise to more than 50 percent by the 1980's, and

WHEREAS, The government of the United States has, through the years, enacted various programs to prevent such shortages and foreign energy dependency. Federal policies were developed to encourage investment in the discovery and development of United States energy resources, needed to insure that the American people have a sufficient supply of domestic petroleum available at a reasonable cost, and

WHEREAS, To help the oil industry achieve this goal it was given two major tax incentives: the oil depletion allowance and the intangible drilling deduction, and

WHEREAS, The oil depletion allowance permits the owner of an oil well to deduct annually from his taxable income 22 percent of the selling price of the oil the well produces, up to 50 percent of the net income from the well, and

WHEREAS, The oil depletion allowance, calculated on the basis of the selling price of the oil, provides the major oil companies with an incentive to raise the selling price of the oil to the independent refiner. A producer who raises his selling price automatically raises his U.S. tax depletion deduction, and

WHEREAS, Thus, the major oil companies can eliminate competition by raising prices to the independents while sheltering more of their own income from U.S. taxes at the same time, and

WHEREAS, Equally offensive to all Americans concerned about the worsening energy situation in the United States is the fact that the oil depletion allowance is applicable to income derived from not only the oil companies' domestic production but to income from their foreign production, and

WHEREAS, As long as this is allowed to continue; the American taxpayer will be forced to subsidize the development of the mineral resources of foreign nations. This investment adds nothing to our immediate security and may prove totally worthless if Arab threats of a supply cut-off become a reality, and

WHEREAS, The second major tax loophole, the intangible drilling deduction, allows the oil producer to immediately deduct drilling costs which have no salvage value, such as contractors' fees, labor, repairs, hauling and supplies necessary for drilling a well and preparing it for production. As in the case of the depletion allowance, this tax break is applicable to both foreign and domestic operations. Because of this, the incentive for investing in domestic operations—the purpose behind both tax breaks—is removed. The result: the major American oil companies are devoting an increasingly larger percentage of their capital expenditures to overseas exploration and production at the expense of the American taxpayer and consumer, and the nation's energy goals, and

WHEREAS, A third major tax benefit enjoyed by oil producers is the ability to convert what are really royalty payments into "taxes" that are creditable, dollar for dollar, against U.S. taxes, and

WHEREAS, Thus, the foreign tax credit provision of the U.S. tax code is a tax incentive for foreign exploration at the expense of domestic exploration. No similar tax credit is given for royalty payments to owners of domestic oil bearing lands. Instead, the oil companies are required to charge off the price paid to domestic land owners as a normal cost of doing business, which in fact it actually is. The foreign tax credit serves to enrich the petroleum companies and the host nations at the expense of the American consumer. The system discourages the American oil companies from holding out against increased "royalty" payments to the Arab governments because the bigger the "royalty-tax payment," the bigger the U.S. tax savings. These increased payments are then used as a rationale to raise consumer prices because, so the oil companies argue, their costs have risen. The oil companies therefore benefit twice: by paying lower U.S. taxes and by charging the consumer more for oil, and

WHEREAS, These loopholes—the depletion allowance, the intangible drilling deduction and the foreign tax credit—have enabled the large oil companies to virtually escape Federal income taxes on billions of dollars of profits. The three loopholes together save the oil companies, and cost the U.S. Treasury, approximately

\$4 billion each year. In fact, in 1971, the 19 largest American oil companies had a combined net income of almost \$11 billion, yet paid only a total of \$716.7 million in Federal income taxes. The Federal tax paid was only 6.5 percent of the net income, a rate much lower than that paid by the average American worker, and

WHEREAS, Americans are tired of having to pay the share of taxes evaded by these gigantic corporations. Tax equality and tax justice demand that the tax loopholes given to the oil industry be closed; there, be it

**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO to encourage the development of America's domestic petroleum resources, strongly urges Congress to enact legislation which would repeal the present depletion allowance and intangible drilling deduction tax breaks for taxable income derived from the production of foreign oil, and to eliminate the credit from U.S. taxes for what are really royalty payments made to foreign governments.

### **Big Oil's Monopoly Power**

WHEREAS, The structure of the American oil industry does not foster the growth of competition. Indeed, a few large oil companies have been able to increase their concentration of economic power over all aspects of the industry:

The 20 largest American oil companies together own and control 94 percent of our proven oil reserves and more than 86 percent of our crude oil.

Eighty-six percent of the nation's refining capacity is controlled by the same group of companies.

These same oil companies account for 79 percent of all gasoline sales made in this country.

The vast, complex interstate network of pipelines that carry 75 percent of the nation's fuel to market, as well as the foreign flag vessels that carry from 95 to 97 percent of the nation's oil imports are controlled by the same 20 major American oil companies, and

WHEREAS, Given these facts, it becomes apparent that virtually the entire nation is at the mercy of the major oil companies who have the power to decide how much, at what price and by what means oil will be made available, and

WHEREAS, The gasoline shortage this past summer demonstrates the danger of allowing the concentration of economic power to go unchecked. During the shortage, some 1,200 independent gasoline station operators were forced out of business. The major oil companies were able to reduce this source of competition by raising the price the independents had to pay them for

gasoline or by cutting off the supply of gasoline to the independents completely. Removing the independent from the retail gasoline market means that the major companies can increase their price to the consumer. There no longer is any competitive force to drive down price, and

WHEREAS, The first half of 1973 was one of the most profitable in the oil industry's history. In the midst of nationwide fuel shortages, independent refiner and gasoline station shutdowns and higher prices to the Consumer, the largest American oil companies saw their profits rise by 39 percent over the first half of 1972, and

WHEREAS, There is a growing belief among officials at all levels of government that the closed, anticompetitive structure of the oil industry is a major cause of both the nation's present energy problems and the industry's rise in profits.

The attorney generals of California, Connecticut, Florida and New York, for example, are presently investigating the causes and extent of the fuel shortages to determine whether the shortages were deliberately created by the major oil companies to drive the independents out of business.

The Federal Trade Commission, in July, issued a complaint against the nation's eight largest oil companies, charging them, among other things, with maintaining a non-competitive market structure. The FTC charged that the major oil companies "accommodated each other's needs in crude, refining and marketing operations."

Senator Thomas McIntyre (D-N.H.) and Congressman Silvio Conte (R-Mass.) have each introduced the Petroleum Divorce Act of 1973 in his respective chamber. This bill would force the oil companies to make a choice. Either the company must give up or divorce itself from the marketing of petroleum products in the United States, or else from the production, refining and transportation of the oil. No longer would the same oil company be able to drill for oil, refine it, transport it and market it. This legislation, like similar divorce legislation that has been introduced, would break the wellhead to pump nozzle stranglehold of the major oil companies. It would, therefore, benefit the independent oil refiner and marketer, as well as the consumer by being one step toward the goal of having a competitive American oil industry.

The anticompetitive practices of the American oil industry are wrong. Price wars, price fixing, consignment agreements, company agreements—all are crimes that for too long have gone unpunished. These practices, as well as the closed structure of the industry, are matters that must be corrected so that the United States can concentrate on reducing the dangerous dependency it has on foreign sources for oil and its transport; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports these and other investigations into possible antitrust activities by America's oil companies, and be it further

RESOLVED: That Congress should promptly enact divorce legislation so that the American public will have their best interests as taxpayers and consumers served through a genuinely competitive oil industry.

### The Metric System

WHEREAS, The metric system of weights and measures is now legal but not mandatory in the U.S.A. as a result of action by Congress in 1866. In recent years, discussion in Congress on the issue of conversion to the metric system has increased. Use of the metric system is increasing and there is a need to plan and coordinate its growth. Any legislation dealing with metric conversion or metric options must deal fairly with American workers and their families who may be adversely affected, and

WHEREAS, American workers have vital interests in the issue of metric options or conversion to the metric system. Some workers' tools, which they often provide at their own expense, would become obsolete. Education and retraining would become necessary for many workers. And some workers may lose their jobs or lose opportunities for promotion as the result of lack of familiarity with the metric system. Any legislation requiring conversion to the metric system will affect all U.S. citizens as workers, as consumers, and as taxpayers, and

WHEREAS, Unfortunately, in spite of the importance of the metric conversion issue to workers and their families and to consumers generally, much of the public discussion of this issue relies on the inadequate, biased, and misleading conclusions of the 1971 metric study by the National Bureau of Standards for the U.S. Commerce Department. There are too many unanswered questions and there is insufficient evidence (1) to support an official U.S. government policy of facilitating and encouraging metric conversion; (2) to support a decision about the extent to which the metric usage is necessary and practical; (3) to support a decision about the degree to which metric usage should be exclusive, predominant, or complementary to existing measurement methods; or (4) to support a decision about some appropriate conversion period, and

WHEREAS, It is premature, therefore, for Congress to pass any legislation which would commit the federal government to an official policy of facilitating or encouraging metric conversion, and

WHEREAS, A reasonable response to our present situation requires a program which can immediately respond to problems re-

sulting from increasing use of the metric system and which can conduct research on which to base future plans. An independent Metric Monitoring and Assistance Board should be established to collect and analyze information about the increasing use of metric measurements and to help minimize the adverse effects resulting from increasing metric usage. This board would act as a central clearing house for information, it would monitor the degree of metric usage, and it would evaluate the costs and benefits of metric usage. The board would remain neutral regarding metric conversion until sufficient evidence is available to make a decision, and

WHEREAS, The board would conduct research on still unresolved problems associated with metric usage, including but not limited to the impact on workers and on different occupations and industries, possible increased costs to consumers, the impact on society and the economy, dangers of anti-trust violation, effects on small business, the impact on the U.S. international trade position, the appropriateness of using federal procurement to affect conversion to the metric system, the proper conversion or transition period, and effects on national defense. The board would report every year to the President and Congress on its research and on the status of metric usage and would recommend whatever actions are necessary to minimize the adverse effects of metric usage, and

WHEREAS, Furthermore, the board would provide full reimbursement to workers for newly required metric tools, special unemployment and job placement assistance, relocation allowances and assistance, technical assistance, education and retraining opportunities for workers, including financial assistance for apprenticeship training programs, and

WHEREAS, It is essential that the Metric Monitoring and Assistance Board have representatives of workers, employers, consumers, and all others concerned with the problems and potential benefits of conversion to the metric system. It is equally essential that scientists already committed to the use of the metric system be represented only in fair proportion to the rest of society; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO calls upon Congress prior to enactment of any legislation requiring conversion to the metric system, to establish an independent Metric Monitoring and Assistance Board with duties and responsibilities as outlined in this resolution, and be it further

RESOLVED: That this board have representation from all segments of American society including organized labor, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the board report to the President and the

Congress on a yearly basis on its research and the status of metric usage as well as any recommended actions necessary to minimize the adverse effects of metric usage.

## Safety and Occupational Health

Congress should provide sufficient funds to achieve the goals of the Occupational Safety and Health Act. In fiscal year 1974, there should be at least 1,500 new compliance personnel acquired, with adequate personnel increases for standards development, statistical activities, training, research, hazards evaluation, and adjudication of contested citations. The emphasis should be on meeting the federal responsibilities under the act.

We oppose all legislation designed to weaken the standards development and compliance aspects of the act, and continue to oppose any legislative efforts to deny coverage of the federal program to workers in small establishments by the device of a statutory numerical exemption or denying funds for inspection of such workplaces.

We urge that the appropriate committees of Congress conduct oversight hearings on the implementation of the act by the agencies responsible for its administration.

The act should be amended to:

Extend its coverage to all American workers, including those employed by the federal, state and local governments, and in workplaces presently covered by other federal safety and health statutes.

Strengthen the vital employee walk-around provision by requiring full pay for the employee representative for time spent with the inspector during the course of his inspection, and full pay for time spent by other employees meeting with the inspector at his request.

Provide an integrated program, better use of manpower and financial resources, and upgrade the mission of the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, by merging this agency with the occupational safety and health programs of the Labor Department, and its director given assistant secretary designation.

Permit employees or their representatives to contest citations for violations of the act on the same ground that employers are allowed, and not confined as it is at present to the length of the proposed abatement period.

Permit the compliance officer to issue an on the spot order prohibiting the employment or presence of employees in locations or under conditions where he finds that there is the existence of an imminent danger.

Accept any on-site consultative service program for small

employers only if it is separately financed and administered by an agency other than the Labor Department, provided the same rights and protections for workers as are set forth in the inspection and enforcement sections of the act, contains penalties against its misuse to avoid compliance with the standards of the act, and is financed under a separate budgetary request.

Require any state plan already submitted and approved to have implementing legislation to be enacted in the first year, five-year budgets and manpower plans submitted; job specifications and pay for state personnel equivalent to those in the federal OSHA program; and immediate coverage and adequate enforcement of programs for public employees on the same basis as for employees in the private sector. States should also be urged to withdraw plans already pending, and not to submit new plans so as to prevent defederalization of OSHA.

Phase out completely Section 18 by July 1, 1975, thus terminating any further state participation in standards and enforcement of the federal act, but providing for federal assistance to approved state occupational safety and health programs dealing with other areas such as manpower training, education, statistics, research and other programs. In order to provide a transitional enforcement program while federal manpower is being acquired, trained and deployed, we urge Congress for immediate expansion of funds available for programs under Section 7(c)(1) of the act, now operating in some 20 states, whereby qualified state inspectors are trained at OSHA expense and returned to the states to inspect workplaces under OSHA procedures and submit their reports and findings to OSHA for enforcement action.

We endorse pending legislation in the Congress authorizing the Small Business Administration to make loans to small businesses for assistance in their complying with Federal Occupational Safety and Health Standards. We call for similar legislation to be enacted in the various states with approved OSHA plans.

### Civil Rights

The AFL-CIO calls on all affiliated unions to continue their efforts to insure that they and the employers they deal with achieve completely nondiscriminatory employment patterns and practices in their employment offices and hiring halls, in their collective bargaining agreements and throughout their work establishments.

We also call on affiliated international unions to recommend to their locals that they review their collective bargaining contracts and their upgrading procedures to insure that they conform to equal opportunity standards.

In addition, the AFL-CIO urges that all affiliates explore the possibilities of developing, or cooperating with sound affirmative action and manpower programs to help open the opportunities for upward mobility for minority youth and workers.

We particularly urge international unions, central bodies, building trades councils, industrial union councils and local unions to utilize the services of the AFL-CIO Human Resources Development Institute.

We also urge affiliated unions to continue to cooperate with the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and the new Labor Council for Latin American Advancement (LCLAA), in helping to eliminate discrimination from education, housing, and all other aspects of American life.

Progress toward full equal opportunity depends on progress in reducing unemployment as well as in successfully integrating American educational and employment institutions. The AFL-CIO strongly supports programs to continue efforts to eliminate discrimination and segregation from all aspects of American life; to resist the Nixon Administration's dismantling of programs in the fields of education, housing, health and manpower; to organize a new thrust forward to deal with the urban crisis, the education crisis, the housing crisis and above all the problems of unemployment.

Finally, we call on the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and other government agencies entrusted with the task of carrying out and enforcing compliance with civil rights statutes and executive orders to do so intelligently, to accept the cooperation and help of the AFL-CIO and affiliated unions, and to develop a system of rapid voluntary achievement as well as vigorous enforcement where necessary.

The AFL-CIO reiterates its opposition to quotas. They are inherently undemocratic and, moreover, serve as cheap substitutes for sound recruitment and training programs to enable minority workers to upgrade themselves by achieving the skills necessary for better-paying and more secure employment.

### United States Merchant Marine: Needs for the 70's

WHEREAS, The importance of fostering a strong, balanced, and competitive U.S. merchant marine was proclaimed as a national policy of the United States through the passage of the 1936 Merchant Marine Act. The Act set forth the following national priorities for the U.S. merchant marine:

"It is necessary for the national defense and developments of its foreign and domestic commerce that the United States shall have a merchant marine sufficient to carry its domestic water-

borne commerce and a substantial portion of the waterborne export and import foreign commerce of the United States and to provide shipping service essential for maintaining the flow of such domestic and foreign waterborne commerce at all times, capable of serving as a naval and military auxiliary in time of war or national emergency, owned and operated under the United States flag by citizens of the United States insofar as may be practicable, composed of the best-equipped, safest and most suitable types of vessels, constructed in the United States and manned with trained and efficient citizen personnel," and

WHEREAS, Recently with the passage of the 1970 Merchant Marine Act, an amendment to the 1936 Act, the framework has been established for new efforts to modernize and revitalize the U.S. merchant marine. However, much remains to be done if the national priorities for the U.S. merchant marine set forth in the 1936 Act are to be achieved. These are the tasks that still must be accomplished:

1. The development of a strong balanced U. S. merchant marine through the continuation of operating and construction subsidy programs and other financial incentives designed to achieve competitive parity between the U. S. and foreign flag fleets.
2. The adoption of legislation to provide the assurance of adequate cargo for U. S. flag vessels, particularly HR8193, which could require that a fair share of U. S. oil imports be carried on U. S. flag tankers.
3. The expansion of the practice of bilateral shipping agreements between the United States and its trading partners. At a time when the great majority of the world's nations have endorsed the concept of bilateralism as a primary method of strengthening their merchant fleets, it is essential that the United States not lose this opportunity to reserve a fair share of its trade for U. S. ships.
4. The nation must end its dependency on foreign flag vessels for the importation of oil and other vital foreign raw materials. These runaway flag vessels, owned by U. S. companies but registered in countries where taxes and regulations are virtually nonexistent, endanger the nation's security in an emergency. The idea that these foreign flag vessels manned by foreign seamen who owe no loyalty to the United States, are under effective U. S. control is a myth that does not stand up to the realities of the 1970's. International law puts these vessels under the control of the country in which they are registered.
5. All tax laws which allow the operators of these vessels to benefit unfairly from foreign operations at the expense of U. S. flag operators should be repealed.
6. The Virgin Islands, which are currently exempt from the Jones Act requirement that shipping between U. S. contiguous and non-contiguous areas be on U. S. flag vessels, should be

placed under the requirements of this Act. This step would create a significant new source of bulk cargoes for the U. S. fleet.

7. New tanker vessel construction must be started in anticipation of the construction of the Alaska pipeline. The tankers originally built for operation between Alaska and the continental United States are now in operation and are fully employed in other trades. If U. S. ships are to be available to carry Alaskan oil, it is imperative that construction begin at once on the 30 or more tankers that will be needed.

At the same time, in view of the critical energy shortage facing the nation and our growing dependence on foreign oil, it should be the national policy that all Alaskan oil must be consumed in the United States.

8. Deepwater ports, to be located on all the coasts of the United States, are essential if the huge amounts of foreign oil the nation will need in the future is to be imported in the most efficient, safest and economical manner. Legislation should be immediately passed that would facilitate the construction of these ports.

9. The National Maritime Council, which has demonstrated that labor, management and government can work together to achieve a strong U. S. merchant marine, should continue to have the support and aid of all segments of the U. S. maritime industry.

10. Finally, it is imperative that bureaucratic encumbrances that have hindered the growth of the U. S. merchant marine be eliminated. In the past, these bureaucrats have undermined the intent of the law in regard to the U. S. merchant marine. All branches of government must actively support the President's program to revive the American merchant marine; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO pledge its support to these goals and urge that appropriate steps be taken to carry them out.

#### **Equal Rights Amendment**

WHEREAS, There are an estimated 33 million women working or seeking work outside the home in the United States, and

WHEREAS, Their number has been steadily increasing to the point where they now make up more than 38 percent of the nation's labor force, and

WHEREAS, It is self-evident that the U.S. economy vitally needs their abilities, talents and skills, and

WHEREAS, Most women work outside the home because they and/or their families need their earnings to raise their living standards above low-income or poverty levels and to help meet the spiraling cost of living and of education for their children, and

WHEREAS, More than 22 percent of heads of households in the United States today are women, and

WHEREAS, Women continue to be one of the most discriminated against and exploited groups of workers in the nation, one manifestation of which is the fact that they earn an average of only three-fifths of what men earn, and

WHEREAS, It is now more urgent than ever to remove employment opportunity barriers against women wherever they exist, and

WHEREAS, State protective labor laws applying only to women are being invalidated in nearly every instance by the courts under the equal employment opportunity provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and

WHEREAS, Recent Supreme Court decisions have thrown strong doubt on the constitutionality of most laws that differentiate on the basis of sex, and

WHEREAS, More and more women are recognizing that the trade union movement is concerned with and seeking to be responsive to the needs of all workers, women and men alike, and

WHEREAS, Women are turning to the trade union movement in ever increasing numbers as the only effective means of gaining and maintaining justice and equality that is being denied them in the workplace because of their sex, and

WHEREAS, The proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution has become a symbol of commitment to equal opportunities for women and equal status for women, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That this 10th Biennial Convention of the AFL-CIO endorses the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution as precisely the kind of clear statement of national commitment to the principle of equality of the sexes under the law that working women and their unions can use to advantage in their efforts to eliminate employment discrimination against women, and, be it further

**RESOLVED:** That state labor federations, in states which have not yet ratified the Equal Rights Amendment, urge their legislatures to act favorably upon the measure.

### Fare-Free Transit

WHEREAS, It has become increasingly apparent there is a growing apprehension about the effects of environmental pollution generated in large part by the use of automobiles within our urban areas; that there is increasing concern about the

shrinking tax base within our cities; that there is increasing immobility of labor in our urban areas; and that there is an ever-escalating cost of urban highway building and population relocation; all of which are contributing great challenges to the ability of our cities in the nation to survive as viable entities of our civilization, and

WHEREAS, It has become increasingly apparent that if those problems are to be solved, our urban areas must provide a reasonable alternative to the private use of automobiles, and

WHEREAS, We share the view of former Secretary of Transportation John Volpe, that "public transit is so important that we must look at its financing much like any other public service," and

WHEREAS, Only a government or publicly owned mass transit system, concerned with a far different set of values, a far different group of assets and liabilities, can convert into assets the intangibles of coordinating the ghetto worker with the suburban job—of greater availability of recreation centers—of reducing welfare costs—of making available to industry a far wider and greater labor supply and—providing all people with a reasonable alternative to the use of private autos for urban transit needs, thus leading to stability and increased property values and bigger tax bases, and

WHEREAS, It is because a publicly owned transit system can concern itself with people rather than profit, that it can go a long way towards tearing down ghetto walls surrounding the depressed and the deprived, permitting them to become self-sufficient, concerned citizens of our cities, and

WHEREAS, We recognize that publicly owned transportation alone is not enough. Unless we can keep fares down, transit will continue to decline under public ownership and operation, so long as the community relies solely upon the fare box to provide needed transit services. Fare box revenues, whatever the level, will never be sufficient to meet the true transit needs of the community, and

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Transit Union, the Transport Workers Union of America, and the United Transportation Union have in the public interest, and in their own membership's interest, long recognized their responsibility in this area by conducting a reasoned, documented, national effort to enlist the aid of the public and/or the government in reducing fares to the point of zero fare or fare-free, thus putting mass transit on a par with other public services such as libraries, parks, police, fire departments, schools, roads, indeed any other municipal service of like nature, none of which require the imposition of a user charge, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That this convention of the AFL-CIO shall take all appropriate action to support and seek legislation providing financial assistance to the mass transit on the local state and federal levels, from general tax funds in amounts not only to be sufficient to hold the fares down at their present levels, but in fact, to reduce or to eliminate them to the point of zero or fare-free, provided that any such legislation shall contain adequate arrangements for the protection of employee interests, such as those specified in Sec. 3(e) and 13(c) of the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964, and by exemption from provisions of the Hatch Act, and be it further

**RESOLVED:** That this convention urges and supports the prompt acquisition of all private transit companies by public bodies, provided adequate employee protections, such as those specified in Sec. 3(e) and 13(c) of the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964, and by exemption from provisions of the Hatch Act, are also included, and be it further

**RESOLVED:** That this convention urges the Department of Transportation to undertake a demonstration project to determine the feasibility of and suitable financing for, a permanent system of fare-free operation of local transit which shall include the testing of one or more such fare-free systems and financing mechanisms in a metropolitan area or areas of the nation.

### **Fire Prevention and Control Act of 1973**

**WHEREAS,** The United States of America suffers the highest loss to fire of any industrialized nation in the world, and

**WHEREAS,** In its wisdom in 1968, the 91st Congress saw fit to enact into law the Fire Research and Safety Act. Title 2 of this Act called for the creation of a National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control that was appointed and funded and became a reality in June 1971, and

**WHEREAS,** This commission has fulfilled those obligations by making a comprehensive report entitled "America Burning" to the President and the Congress of the United States. Said report being accompanied by comprehensive legislation to bring about solutions to the fire problems of this nation. Said legislation being designated as S 1769 and HR 7681, and

**WHEREAS,** The International Association of Fire Fighters, who deal daily with the fire problems of the nation are thoroughly convinced that said legislation will substantially reduce the horrendous loss of life and property suffered by this nation to fire annually; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO go on record supporting the

legislation introduced by Senator Magnuson and Congressman Patman, that will provide for a Fire Administration within the structure of our federal government. Said administration will bring about a National Fire Academy for the education and training of the members of the Fire Service and will coordinate, consolidate and evaluate advanced education of our members in all sections of our country. It will provide a Data Collection and Processing Center in conjunction with the National Fire Academy, that will document the causes and effects of fire upon this nation. It will also, under the guidance of the federal government, provide the necessary funds for research and development of adequate protective clothing; breathing apparatus; modern fire equipment and techniques that will directly benefit the population of this nation.

### **Postal Rates for Non-Profit Organizations**

**WHEREAS,** Unless Congress acts to change the situation, union newspapers and magazines and the non-profit house organs of religious, fraternal, agricultural and veterans groups will face a rise in postage rates that could force many of them to stop publishing, and

**WHEREAS.** The ten-year schedule of increases recently imposed by the Postal Rate Commission would increase the postal rates for many of these publications by more than 800 percent. A major inequity of this rate schedule is the per-piece charge or surcharge that applies equally to all publications, regardless of size. No distinction is made between a 50-page magazine with substantial advertising revenue and a 4-page newsletter, and

**WHEREAS,** The recognition of the importance of non-profit publications in our society goes back to the very early days of American history. The invaluable service that many of these publications perform, in supplying additional information and often corrective information to the news reported in the commercial press provides the kind of information balance so necessary in a democracy. The strangulation of these publications by exorbitant postal rates would create a dangerous vacuum in American communications, and

**WHEREAS,** So far Congress has failed to act in the matter. The issue came before the House on July 23 but the House refused to consider it. Further congressional action now depends on the Senate; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** The AFL-CIO urges the Senate of the United States to consider as quickly as possible legislation that will alleviate the impact of these higher postal rates thus enabling labor unions and other non-profit institutions to distribute to

their members information generally not available to them through other media and so helping to promote the free flow of ideas.

## **EDUCATION**

### **Education**

WHEREAS, The system of federal aid to education, one of the legislative achievements of the past 20 years, is in danger of being wrecked by the Administration's proposal for a special revenue sharing program, and

WHEREAS, Two casualties of the Administration's plan would almost certainly be the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the Vocational Education Act. The ESEA is landmark legislation in educating our children, particularly the culturally disadvantaged and the bill pending before Congress that would extend its life for five years would also extend the Adult Education Act and other necessary programs for the same period of time. The Vocational Education Act provides the specialized help needed to train people in occupational skills and must be continued, and

WHEREAS, The Administration's proposal to give block grants for education to the states instead of keeping to our present system of categorical grants suffers from the defects of the whole special revenue sharing idea. By loosening federal control of federal money we run the risk of creating a situation in which local political power rather than public need will determine how educational funds will be spent. The federal system of aid to education evolved because localities were either unable or unwilling to see that sufficient money was spent on those whose educational needs were greatest. Poor rural youngsters and minority group children in urban ghettos were chronically short-changed, and still are in too many cases. The special revenue sharing program would mark a huge step backward in our effort to guarantee quality education to all students, and

WHEREAS, In addition to the threat posed by special revenue sharing, excellence in education is also endangered by this Administration's reluctance to spend money for domestic social programs. For instance, although Nixon signed the Higher Education Act of 1972, his budget message does not provide any funding of the act and colleges and universities, already in grave financial straits, may be denied the aid they sorely need. Budget cuts proposed by this administration and general underfunding can only adversely affect all federally-supported educational programs,

WHEREAS, We deplore this Administration's attempts to exploit the issue of race in the schools in order to gain political advantage. The President's attacks on busing as one means of achieving school desegregation are irresponsible. These attacks are

actually assaults on our concept of law and order. They play to base prejudice. They weaken public confidence in the federal courts that have ordered busing as one way of achieving compliance with the constitutional obligation to create a unitary school system in which children of all races, religions and ethnic origins can have an equal chance at a good education; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** The AFL-CIO supports legislation now pending before the House Education and Labor Committee that would extend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and its program of proven worth for another five years and also extend the Adult Education Act for the same period; we oppose the Administration's special revenue sharing program for education as a backward step in meeting the nation's educational needs;

We urge full funding of all federal education programs;

We reaffirm our support for bilingual and bicultural education as one means of meeting the special needs of Spanish-speaking youngsters;

We express our support of busing as one means among others available to the federal courts and administrative agencies when they seek to meet the constitutional requirements of school desegregation and establish a single public school system that can make quality integrated education available to all of our children.

### **Preparing Youth for Total Participation in Society**

WHEREAS, Quality education for all children is the cornerstone on which the American people can build a rewarding and satisfying life, and

WHEREAS, The American labor movement has, from its inception, recognized the importance of, and fought for, free quality education for all American children, and

WHEREAS, There is now emerging in the academic and educational communities strong support for a concept described as "career education" with the proposed goal of assuring every American child useable job skills at whatever age they may cease attending school, and

WHEREAS, Many interpreters of "career education" are attempting to use this concept to restrict educational opportunities for high school youths to vocational skills only, thus denying them the opportunity for cultural, political and artistic enrichment; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That this 10th Convention of the AFL-CIO is opposed to the development or implementation of any education-

al concepts that limit secondary education to narrow vocational skills, and be it further

**RESOLVED:** That we reaffirm the necessity and desirability of preparing our nation's youth for total participation in our society, not merely participation as a statistic in the nation's work force as an adjunct to tomorrow's machines.

## **GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES PROGRAMS**

### **Collective Bargaining for Public Employees**

WHEREAS, Operating under the principles of national policy established by law, workers and employers in private industry have developed a system of collective bargaining to resolve their differences on a basis of equity, and

WHEREAS, Only through the same principle of bargaining collectively can workers in public employment gain a meaningful voice in the determination of their wages and conditions of work, and

WHEREAS, There are large sections of the country where no legal mechanism for collective bargaining exists, resulting in strikes and strife and the denial of justice, and

WHEREAS, Even in those sections of the nation where the right to organize and bargain does exist for public employees, the negotiating process is compromised by punitive restrictions on the workers and their representatives, and

WHEREAS, Today, the complications of our society have so blurred the distinction between the public and private sectors as to make meaningless any reasons which have been provided in the past for excluding public employees from the mechanism of collective bargaining; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That the time has come for the Congress of the United States to intervene as it did in 1935 with regard to workers in private industry, and to establish by law a uniform system under which state and local government employees and their employers can deal with each other on questions of wages, hours and working conditions.

This Convention supports a federal collective bargaining law which gives negotiating equity to public employees, while at the same time taking into account the special problems of collective bargaining in state and local government: the problems of impasse resolution and strikes, the budgetary processes, the relationships between the administrative and the legislative arms of the government.

We applaud the efforts of the United States Congress which have resulted in House and Senate Hearings scheduled for this fall on the question of collective bargaining for public employees.

We support the effort of federal employees, through their unions, in seeking separate legislation by the Congress to give

them full collective bargaining and to make available to employees of the federal government the basic rights and protections enjoyed by workers in the private sector of the economy.

### **Legislative and Administrative Program for Government Employees**

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations has always played a vital and indispensable role in helping its affiliated organizations of federal workers achieve their legitimate economic and social goals, and

WHEREAS, The federal government should be an ideal employer, and should set an example for the nation by providing wages and working conditions at least equal to those prevailing in the private sector for workers of similar skills, training, and education, and

WHEREAS, The federal government has lagged far behind private industry in the areas of wages, working conditions, and collective bargaining policies, and the resulting gap can be filled only by progressive and constructive legislation and administrative actions; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That the Tenth Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations assembled in Miami Beach, Florida, commencing October 18, 1973, does hereby adopt the following program of legislative and administrative relief for government employees:

#### **Union-Management Relations in the Federal Government**

For more than a decade, the federal government has maintained by Executive Order a system of collective bargaining for its employees, which has failed to meet the legitimate aims of organized workers and the needs of progressive labor relations in public service.

From its inception in 1962, as Executive Order 10988 through Executive Orders 11491 and 11616, the program has been marked by the absence of an impartial board to administer it, restrictions on the subjects available for bargaining, prolonged delays in rendering administrative decisions, inability of unions to negotiate union security arrangements, arbitrary exclusion of groups of workers from collective bargaining units, and lack of negotiation impasse arbitration.

The current prohibition against any form of union security seriously inhibits the rights of unions to bargain effectively. While most private industry contracts contain provisions re-

quiring all covered workers, who benefit from the contract, to join the appropriate union, the current Executive Order and the Postal Reorganization Act preclude such negotiations.

The experience of unions with the program points clearly to the necessity for enactment of legislation as a matter of priority in this field. A law is required to establish a statutory basis for the federal collective bargaining system. All non postal workers, including those in non appropriated fund activities, the Government Printing Office, and others in the legislative branch should be afforded these rights also.

Congress should place high on its agenda passage of a law giving legal sanction to collective bargaining for federal workers.

#### Pay

(a) Wage grade employees of the federal government are bearing an unjust share of the economic burden under President Nixon's economic stabilization program. A series of presidential actions and Civil Service Commission implementing regulations have contravened the policy established by Congress more than a century ago requiring that federal board workers be paid rates similar to those received by employees of private firms in each local wage area. These activities have caused wage grade employees to receive up to 11 percent less than their counterparts in given localities.

(b) The 1962 comparability law providing pay adjustments for federal workers whose compensation is fixed by law was confirmed by Congress in 1967 and 1970. The system has fallen far short of the objectives envisioned in the legislation.

Employees involved are receiving neither current rates comparable to salary movements in private industry nor an equitable distribution of pay within the pay schedule.

On three occasions in as many years, the President has postponed salary adjustments due by law to federal workers in statutory pay systems. The latest pronouncement of the Chief Executive attempted to defer to December 1, 1973, the increase due October 1, 1973. Fortunately, Senate action prevented the deferment. However, regrettably, Congress did not have an opportunity to pass judgment on the amount of the pay raise and the subsequent 4.8 percent pay raise put into effect by the President fell far short of the pay raise justified by the most recent study of private industry salaries by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Thus, federal workers have been shortchanged again on comparability.

Congress should reassert in unmistakable terms the goal of comparability and should take steps to restore comparability. Further, we recommend that Congress revise the law to establish

federal salaries through collective bargaining at the national level.

(c) Legislation for premium compensation at time and one-half for work in excess of 8 hours per day during the regular workweek between midnight Sunday and midnight Friday, double time for work on Saturdays and Sundays and holidays, and two and one-half times the regular rate of pay for work on Christmas Day, for all federal employes. A basic workweek extending from Monday through Friday should be established for classified, wage grade, and similar occupations. Night differential should be fixed at 20 percent of base pay. In computing a particular type of premium compensation, all other kinds of applicable additional pay should be included. This legislation shall apply to all federal government agencies, instrumentalities and corporations wholly owned by the U.S. Government.

(d) Legislation fixing a 35-hour workweek for government employees without reduction in pay.

#### Retirement

(a) Voluntary retirement after 20 years of service, regardless of age, with full benefits, or with age and years of service totaling 80.

(b) Oppose merger of Social Security and Civil Service retirement systems.

(c) Increase from 55 to 60 percent the surviving beneficiary's share of employee's pension. Eliminate reduction in an employee's annuity when he elects benefits for his survivor.

(d) Retirement deductions on all earnings, including overtime, night differential, special allowances and other premium pay, for groups of non postal employes who work under these conditions throughout their careers.

(e) Increase the general formula for computing annuities to 2½ percent.

(f) In the case of hazardous occupations, the formula should be adjusted to 3 percent, with coverage extended to additional jobs, such as employees of neuro psychiatric hospitals who deal with patients, customs employes, linemen, and other types of hazardous occupations, such as boilermakers, welders-burners, lead-burners, riveters, electricians, power plant operators, chippers-caulkers (steel), jack-hammer operators, painters, asbestos workers, and many other workers who do not receive additional benefits for retirement purposes.

(g) For spouses who elect an annuity for survivors, the annuitant's full pension should be restored upon the death of the survivor annuitant.

(h) The minimum annuity available to employes retiring for

disability should be increased to 50 percent of the high three-year base.

(i) The Department of Defense should contribute to the Retirement Fund amounts covering military service of those who become civilian federal employees.

(j) Legislation permitting federal employees or survivors to option for full cash payment for all sick leave unused at the time of retirement, death or separation.

(k) Retirement credit for separated employees during periods of entitlement to compensation for injury.

(l) Existing retirement benefits, particularly for low income annuitants, should be increased.

(m) Reduction from 2 to 1 percent in the annual annuity penalty experienced by employees involuntarily separated prior to age 55.

(n) Exclusion of civil service annuities from federal income tax.

#### Promotions

Application of impartial promotion procedures with recognition of seniority, merit and "promotion from within" as the guiding principles pending approval by Congress of collective bargaining legislation making the subject fully negotiable.

#### Leave

(a) Lump-sum payment for annual leave in excess of statutory ceilings accumulated during the year by an employee who retires or resigns.

(b) Employees prevented from using annual leave because of conditions beyond their control should have these days added to their normal accumulation.

(c) Federal employees elected or selected as full time union representatives shall be guaranteed leave without pay and without loss of benefits, such as seniority, promotion, and retirement, and they shall have the right to make payments for these benefits.

#### Political Activities

The Hatch Act should be revised. Federal employees must be assured maximum freedom to exercise their political rights and responsibilities as citizens. At the same time, preservation of the impartiality of the federal government's service to its citizens requires that appointment, promotion, and retention of federal workers be free from political considerations. The Supreme Court decision of June 25, 1973, maintaining the constitutionality of the present statute underscores the inadequacy of the law and necessitates correction by Congress at an early date.

#### Constitutional Rights

Continuing investigations by Congress have revealed serious invasions of the privacy and other constitutional rights of federal employees. Congress should complete action on legislation to eliminate further transgressions.

#### Classification

Union involvement in the federal government's review of its job evaluation and pay systems have proved frustrating and unproductive. Despite vocal resistance by the unions involved, the Civil Service Commission has proceeded with tests of the factor ranking evaluation method. In doing so, it has ignored its obligation to consult appropriately with union representatives and to extend appropriate consideration to union recommendations for undertaking the tests. No plan for adequate union participation in the programs finally enacted has been offered.

Any legislation approved by Congress on this subject should include a labor management committee to review job classification standards, an impartial board to decide appeals on national standards, and resolution of individual classification appeals through the negotiated machinery, including binding arbitration.

#### Transfers

Mobility of federal workers within their agencies, to other agencies, and to other governmental jurisdictions should be accompanied by full protection of the rights and benefits of the employees affected. Transfers of personnel should be accomplished at the option of the employees. Movement of functions from the states and subdivisions to federal auspices should involve adherence to these principles. Although not completely satisfactory in all respects, the Intergovernmental Personnel Act offers a pattern for achieving these objectives.

#### Technological Change

(a) Technological changes in federal work methods should recognize the special needs of senior employees, provide training and placement opportunities, and enhance the promotion possibilities of individual workers affected. The current interagency study of productivity in the federal sector provides an indication of the importance of appropriate protection of employee rights and benefits in introducing technological modifications.

(b) Oppose "speed-up" programs in the Postal Service and throughout government service, work performance schedules, basic motion and time studies and similar systems. Oppose the Government Printing Office practice of requiring certain employees to meet time standards in setting type.

#### Compensation for Injury

(a) Improvements are needed in the Federal Employees' Com-

pension Act. They include updating allowances, benefits to dependents, expansion of compensable injuries, and current payment of claims.

(b) Oppose any measures to transfer the Office of Federal Employee Compensation or any of its functions which rightfully belong in the Department of Labor to the Civil Service Commission or to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

(c) Support legislation to raise benefits paid to survivors of federal employees to a more adequate level; seek Congressional action to permit employees and survivors to receive Veterans Administration benefits while receiving compensation for disability, and support action to increase OFEC employment of additional personnel to a level which will eliminate the current backlog of cases and thereafter remain abreast of the current applications.

Congress should amend the statute to eliminate these serious deficiencies.

#### **Personnel Reductions**

By 1975, almost 200,000 civilian jobs will be eliminated in military installations. Similar reductions are under way in other federal agencies.

Additional military base closures, reductions, and consolidations, and cutbacks in other agencies are predicted in the coming year.

These actions have been taken without regard to high unemployment rates in many communities. Despite agency claims to the contrary, attempts to place these employees in suitable jobs have not proved successful. In many instances, job offers have entailed significant losses in pay and uprooting families of federal employees to move to other localities.

Congress should enact legislation subjecting base closures to public and Congressional scrutiny and insuring displaced workers protection of pay and benefits.

#### **Postal Service**

(a) Endorse restoration of curtailed postal service and improvement in postal operations to provide the most efficient service possible to the American people.

(b) In the interest of efficiency and economy, inter and intra city transportation of mail by trucks should be accomplished by postal employees and government equipment.

(c) Since the American taxpayer is entitled to the best possible postal service, we oppose curtailment or reduction in the Special Delivery Service.

#### **Civil Service Procedures**

Oppose authority of agency heads to separate employees without recourse to established Civil Service procedures and appeal rights. Oppose any effort to remove federal jobs from Civil Service coverage. Federal personnel regulations should be applied consistently to all employees and federal agencies.

#### **Uniform Allowances**

Increase uniform allowances, including cost of maintenance, to all employees in occupations now covered, and extend them to additional appropriate jobs of the United States Postal Service.

#### **Travel Expenses**

Increase the maximum per diem allowance to \$35, with commensurate increases for postal workers in mobile units. Uniform application of travel expenses and regulations should be observed. Employees required to travel on official business outside normal working hours should receive additional compensation at regular overtime rates.

#### **Non Appropriated Fund Activities**

Employees in non appropriated fund activities should be accorded Civil Service status with all benefits accruing to career federal workers, including equitable pay under the new wage system.

#### **Fire Service**

(a) Oppose contracting out of fire protection and consolidation of police and fire duties.

(b) Urge the federal government to provide for minimum manning of fire apparatus that meets at least those standards recommended by the National Fire Prevention Association.

(c) Reduction in the present 72-hour workweek of federal firefighters without impairing total annual pay is essential to meet practices prevailing in progressive municipalities.

(d) Establishment of a separate classification and pay schedule for federal firefighters. Adjusting pay and hours according to those enjoyed by progressive municipal fire departments.

(e) Hazardous duty pay for federal firefighters.

#### **Use of Military Personnel**

Assignment of military personnel to work which can be performed by civilian employees is a pressing problem. This practice produces wasteful expenditure of millions of dollars. Services and skills of military personnel can best be utilized in functions directly related to military services. We oppose continuation of this practice.

## **Right to Strike**

WHEREAS, Public employees at all levels, postal, federal, state, county and municipal, have in ever-increasing numbers won the right to bargain with their employers on the subject of wages, hours of employment and working conditions, and

WHEREAS, These employees continue to be penalized at the bargaining table because of the denial of the right to legally withhold their services, and

WHEREAS, True collective bargaining cannot take place nor equity and equality be afforded these public employees if the right to strike is withheld as a bargaining tool, and

WHEREAS, Workers in the private employment sector are not denied this right; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions work diligently to repeal laws and ordinances that seek to prohibit public employees from exercising their right as workers to withhold their services, and to defeat future attempts to penalize public workers who choose to exercise the right to strike. We believe that the right to strike is basic to all American workers, public and private alike.

## **Public Employee Protection**

WHEREAS, Considerable recent federal, state, and local legislation has been proposed which shifts administration and/or funding of programs from one level of government to another and from the public sector to the private sector. Although a precedent for employee protections was set by the Urban Mass Transit Act of 1964, current legislation reorganizing public services has not provided protection to public employees against loss of their jobs, benefits, or collective bargaining rights, and

WHEREAS, It is the intent of legislation in the areas of social services, juvenile delinquency, corrections, health, mental health, and mental retardation to alter the method of delivery of service. In many cases, this includes centralization of local programs into state programs; closure of large institutions; development of community-based alternative facilities; and a general movement away from institutionalization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That all relevant legislation supported by the AFL-CIO include provisions to protect the job rights, privileges, and benefits of public employees as efforts are made to reorganize the delivery of public services through such measures as reorganization, closure, merger, and/or consolidation of institutions.

## **The Hatch Act**

WHEREAS, The Hatch Act and state and local counterpart restrictions stringently limit the rights of public employees to engage in political activity, to run for public office, and to exercise their full freedoms of speech and association guaranteed under the First Amendment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO regards as backward-looking the recent Supreme Court decisions upholding the Hatch Act, and similar state and local restrictions on political activity, and be it further

RESOLVED: That we support all efforts by public employees aimed at the abolishment of any and all infringements upon their rights as full American citizens, and be it further

RESOLVED: That we call upon state legislatures and the United States Congress to restore full political rights to all public employees.

## **Department of Public Employees**

WHEREAS, Public employee unions are the fastest growing segment of the labor movement with one out of every six American workers in 1972 employed by a government entity; the projected figures from the Bureau of Labor Statistics show that by 1980 one out of every four American workers will hold a public job, and

WHEREAS, There are 2.8 million federal workers of which 1,082,587 are organized and/or covered by exclusive recognition with another 1,382,000 potential who are reaping the benefits acquired by dues paying members; and there are 11,000,000 state and local government employees of which 3 million are organized with an additional 2 million represented because of exclusive representation but not paying dues; these state and local government employees come from 81,000 units of government; and the approximate additional total organizing potential is between 6.5 and 7.5 million federal, state and local government employees, and

WHEREAS, The percentage of union members in the private sector in ratio to the total work force in the last decade has declined while public employee sector unions have had a soaring increase in membership; yet public employee unions are only at 25 percent of their potential, and

WHEREAS, The creation of a Department of Public Employees within the AFL-CIO would enhance our organizing ability; extend the benefits of collective bargaining to additional millions of public workers; and permit the negotiating of agency or union shop clauses in their contracts, and

WHEREAS, Postal employees have recently received the statutory right to bargain collectively with their employer, and 37 states, and numerous local jurisdictions have enacted laws covering labor-management relations; and presently federal legislation has been introduced that would regulate and establish the minimum for such state laws. Also, legislation has been introduced to provide true bargaining for federal employees, and

WHEREAS, The Department of Public Employees would coordinate and consolidate the efforts of all public employees unions to promote adoption of legislation at the federal, state and local levels; and would stimulate other trade union activities and support functions beneficial to unions and their public employee members, and

WHEREAS, There would be coordination and consolidation of the research material of all public employees so that when figures are used they can be assumed to be accurate, and

WHEREAS, These could be the prime objectives of a Department of Public Employees within the AFL-CIO; therefore be it

**RESOLVED:** That the Executive Council give consideration to the establishment of a Department of Public Employees, pursuant to the provisions of Article XI, Section I, of the AFL-CIO Constitution.

### **U. S. Government Printing**

WHEREAS, Title 44 of the United States Code requires that all printing for the federal government and its agencies shall be done in the United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., and

WHEREAS, This same federal law authorizes the United States Public Printer or the Joint Committee on Printing of the United States Congress to approve a waiver of this mandate,

thus permitting the subcontracting of this federal printing, as well as the establishing of printing plants in the various federal agencies, and

WHEREAS, This subcontracting of this federal printing is done on a bid basis and not on a prevailing wage and fair labor standards basis, thus penalizing fair employers and their union employees, and giving preferential status to bids based upon price at the expense of fair labor standards; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That this 10th Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO protest this subcontracting policy of the United States Government Printing Office and its resultant freezing of employment opportunity for journeymen printers of the past several years, while utilizing taxpayers' funds to continue to train apprentices for the skilled printing trades in the United States Government Printing Office, with a copy of this resolution to the Public Printer.

### **Government Printing Office Workweek**

WHEREAS, The United States Government Printing Office in Washington, D. C. employs approximately 1100 members of the International Typographical Union in its composing division and its 25 chapels, and

WHEREAS, The upwards of 7,000 employes of this federal agency have been required to work a 40-hour week in the nation's capital for more than 40 years now, and

WHEREAS, The Public Printer, the executive head of this largest printing plant in America, has, for more than 30 years, had in his files full legal authority to institute a workweek more in line with that of private industry, and

WHEREAS, Private industry in the printing business in the nation's capital has a 35-hour workweek for printers, both commercial, as well as daily newspapers there, and the McCall Printing Company has had, for several years in their Atlantic Division plant in the Washington jurisdiction, a four-day workweek, and

WHEREAS, The United States Government Printing Office publishes at least six daily publications, including the Congressional Record, and has a 24-hour operation to enable it to get out these publications; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That this 10th Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO go on record in support of a 35-hour workweek at the

GPO without further delay, so to have this federal agency in line with private industry, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Public Printer.

### **Apprentices in Government Printing Office**

WHEREAS, Conventions of the International Typographical Union have opposed the proposed increase to a limit of 400 apprentices in the Government Printing Office because there was no evidence that such a number was a valid figure, and

WHEREAS, In subsequent testimony by the ITU before the congressional committee it was pointed out that there was a need for joint administration of the apprenticeship program in the GPO consistent with ITU and private industry standards and, among other elements, to determine more practically on a joint labor-management basis the number of apprentices actually needed in the GPO, and

WHEREAS, The then Public Printer agreed with the congressional committee to establish joint apprenticeship committees for the various crafts in the GPO as an expedient to overcome the objections to the increase from 200 to 400 in the number of apprentices in the various crafts in the GPO, and

WHEREAS, There has been no evidence the mechanism established has ever functioned as intended by such recommendations, and

WHEREAS, The Nixon Administration has promoted greater "contracting out" of government printing at substantial loss of journeyman job opportunities in the GPO, which has resulted in an enormous amount of such printing going to non-union shops, and

WHEREAS, This practice has reduced employment opportunities for competent journeyman members of the ITU who have qualified for such employment in the Civil Service examination, while so-called apprentices have been hired in lieu thereof without the joint consultation with the Joint Apprenticeship Committee for the composing room crafts in the GPO, and

WHEREAS, This practice is detrimental to all printing trades members employed in the GPO and is entirely inconsistent with the agreement made by the Public Printer with the congressional committee in 1969; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: By the 10th Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, that it vigorously protests the continuing unilateral administration of apprenticeship in the GPO in defiance of the congressional requirement for joint administration of apprenticeship, and that it also protests with the same vigor the present

policy restricting employment opportunities for qualified journeymen who have successfully passed the civil service examination for such employment, and be it further

RESOLVED: That this convention requests the Committee on House Administration and the Joint Committee on Printing to require the Public Printer to enforce in the GPO effective and actual joint administration of the apprenticeship program in the composing room trades of the GPO, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Public Printer.

### **Government Employees' Salaries**

WHEREAS, In the three years since Congress adopted the Federal Comparability Act of 1970—which provides that classified employees of the executive branch will be paid the same as workers in private industry on the basis of data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics—these federal employees have been repeatedly short-changed on salary increases to which they were entitled, and

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO fully supports the efforts of The American Federation of Government Employees to win fair pay and full pay for their members employed in the executive branch of government, and be it further

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO also deplores the efforts of President Nixon, through the deferment and reduction of justified pay increases, to hold back money due to federal employees in clear defiance of congressional intent expressed in the Federal Comparability Act of 1970.

### **Implementation of Public Law 92-187 in the Canal Zone**

WHEREAS, Public Law 92-187 was amended December 15, 1971, to read in pertinent part:

Sec. 3. Section 7152 of Title 5, United States Code, relating to the prohibition on discrimination in employment because of marital status, is amended. . .

(b) Regulations prescribed under any provision of this title, or under any other provision of law, granting benefits to employees, shall provide the same benefits for a married female employee and her spouse and children as are provided for a married male employee and his spouse and children

(c) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, any provision of law providing a benefit to a male Federal employee or to his spouse or family shall be deemed to provide the same benefit to a female Federal employee or to her spouse or family; and

WHEREAS, The rules and regulations published in the Federal Register, Chapter XIV, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Part 1604.9 reads in pertinent part

#### 1604.9 Fringe Benefits.

(a) "Fringe Benefits," as used herein, includes medical, hospital, accident, life insurance and retirement benefits; profit-sharing and bonus plans; leave; and other terms, conditions and privileges of employment.

(b) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to discriminate between men and women with regard to fringe benefits.

(c) Where an employer conditions benefits available to employees and their spouses and families on whether the employee is the "head of the household" or "principal wage earner" in the family unit, the benefits tend to be available only to male employees and their families. Due to the fact that such conditioning discriminatorily affects the rights of women employees, and that "head of household" or "principal wage earner" status bears no relationship to job performance, benefits which are so conditioned will be found a *prima facie* violation of the prohibitions against sex discrimination contained in the Act.

(d) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to make available benefits for the wives and families of male employees where the same benefits are not made available for the husbands and families of female employees; or to make available benefits for the wives of male employees which are not made available for female employees; or to make available benefits to the husbands of female employees which are not made available for male employees. An example of such an unlawful employment practice is a situation in which wives of male employees receive maternity benefits while female employees receive no such benefits; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal Company/Canal Zone Government has failed to eliminate discriminatory regulations and practices pertaining to married women in regard to:

Transportation privileges, including home leave and repatriation benefits, transportation of new cars and transportation of college students.

15% tropical differential.

Employee hospital rates to include spouse and members of the family.

Tuition-free and sponsored rates or schooling at Canal Zone elementary and high schools and the Canal Zone College, respectively.

Free entry and purchasing privileges in Panama Canal retail outlets to include spouse and members of the family.

Housing in the Canal Zone; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the Secretary of the Army be directed to revise the tropical differential regulations as stated in 35 CFR 253.135 to conform to the spirit of PL 92-187 and grant the tropical differential to all United States employees (citizens) of the federal government in the Canal Zone as was the practice prior to 1964, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the Governor of the Canal Zone be directed to discontinue use of criteria "reason for being in the area" which has replaced the unlawful "head of household" provision as a means to deny women employees their rights and privileges, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the Governor of the Canal Zone be directed to immediately grant tuition free and sponsored rates for schooling in the Canal Zone to dependents of U.S. women employed in the Canal Zone by the federal government.

And the Governor of the Canal Zone be directed to grant hospital and medical privileges to spouses of federally employed women under the same rules and conditions currently applied to spouses of male employees.

And the Panama Canal Company/Canal Zone Government be directed to revise its regulations and the Canal Zone Code to conform to the letter and spirit of PL 92-187.

#### Hunters Point Naval Shipyard

WHEREAS, The suddenly announced Navy Department plan to shut down the Hunters Point Naval Shipyard by June 30, 1974, threatens to be one of the most drastic actions ever to adversely affect the members of the metal trades unions in the San Francisco Bay Area, and

WHEREAS, Such a planned shutdown has already caused hardships to members of the metal trades unions through such effects as forcing them to dispose abruptly of family homes they have occupied for many years in order to move to available jobs in other areas, or increasing their commuting times and cost, and

WHEREAS, The shutdown has caused the migration of many experienced and skilled metal trades workers from the San Fran-

cisco Bay area, acknowledged to be an important link in the nation's emergency military production assets, and

WHEREAS, The port city of San Francisco and its surrounding area has already lost approximately 3,400 civilian jobs at the Hunters Point yard in the last five months, and faces loss of almost all of the remaining 2,200 workers by next June, and

WHEREAS, The closing down of the shipyard and disappearance of its payroll will represent a loss of an estimated \$103 million to the San Francisco Bay Area economy, a staggering \$83 million in wages alone which greatly affects our skilled shipyard workers and the workers of other shipbuilding and repair allied industries, and

WHEREAS, Navy ship repair and outfitting work has increased, not decreased, in the San Francisco Bay Area during this year, so that work is being sent to private shipyards in other West Coast cities; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That the Department of Defense and the Navy Department be advised that the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions and their members and families view the impending suspension of ship repair and outfitting operations as an unjustified action and the home porting of naval vessels that are now home ported in San Francisco Bay be retained and not shifted to other naval districts on the West Coast thereby keeping a balance of naval repair work in the San Francisco Bay Area for the commercial shipyards, and be it further

**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions and their members support the request of the Metal Trades Department and its Bay Cities Metal Trades and Industrial Union Council that if the scheduled shutdown of the Hunters Point Naval Shipyard takes place that all efforts be made to keep the facility open and operated by interested private shipbuilding firms and that they be given the opportunity to make proposals for operation of these facilities with accompanying reinstatement of full employment under the terms of the Pacific Coast Shipbuilding and Ship Repair Master Agreements.

### **Panama Canal Labor Relations**

WHEREAS, Unions representing workers in the Panama Canal Zone have cooperated with Panama Canal Zone Officials for more than seven decades in the construction and maintenance of this waterway serving world wide commerce, and

WHEREAS, These unions have been able to obtain a degree of cooperation from management of the canal until recently, and

WHEREAS, These unions in the Canal Zone have experienced

a serious deterioration in the attitude of management towards labor relations during the past year, and

WHEREAS, These unions have found it impossible to secure reasonable solutions for their problems in the zone, and

WHEREAS, The problems are not confined to one union, but affect the welfare of all segments of the canal work force and

WHEREAS, Canal Zone pilots have found it necessary to express their dissatisfaction with labor relations twice in the past six months, and

WHEREAS, Workers in the Canal Zone do not possess even the limited collective bargaining rights accorded other federal employees under presidential executive orders, and

WHEREAS, At present there appears to be no prospect of improving the attitude of Canal Zone management on labor relations; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO seek the cooperation of the Department of Defense in correcting existing deficiencies; and be it further

**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO support enactment of legislation recognizing the right of unions representing Canal Zone employees to engage in collective bargaining in behalf of these workers. Until such legislation is passed, these workers should be covered by Executive Order 11491, as amended.

## LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

### Organizing

From the formation of the AFL-CIO, affiliates have committed themselves to the goal of organizing the unorganized—"the simple trade union job that we were organized many years ago to do."

Every convention of AFL-CIO has directed its attention to the still unfulfilled organizing task, has pointed to those groups and those geographical areas of the nation especially in need of organizing effort, and has made recommendations, both general and specific, concerning the utilization of organizational resources to accomplish the organizing goals.

The composition of the AFL-CIO suggest the range of collective bargaining within the mainstream of organized labor in America. Farmworkers to public school administrators; steamfitters to computer programmers; salesmen to tug boat captains; musicians, doctors, cement masons. All are covered by collective bargaining agreements, each being responsive to the particular needs and circumstances of the group and all share a common factor, an instrumentality of their own to deal with problems as they wish to meet them.

New groups of employees who in the past had not fully realized the role collective bargaining could play in their fields at last beginning to overcome long-existent attitudinal obstacles.

The labor movement is ready to assist such groups to take their place within the collective bargaining framework, considering carefully what revisions and innovations are needed to make easier the entrance of such groups into the mainstream of labor.

The AFL-CIO shall:

1. Continue efforts to secure new legislation and administrative changes to achieve effective enforcement of laws protecting the right of workers to organize. To insure its success, such a campaign must include the assembling of evidence to illustrate the need for new legislation as well as a thorough-going community program to educate the public on this issue.

2. Survey the organizing activities and experiences of the various unions with a view to drawing from them insights and know-how that would be helpful in upgrading all organizing campaigns, including the expansion of membership in plants already under union contract but subject to restrictions on union security.

3. Expand training programs, through the AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center, aimed at developing new staff.

4. Stimulate state and local central bodies into taking a greater interest in organizing and in helping to educate non-union workers and the public about the aims and achievements of the labor movement.

5. Call upon all AFL-CIO affiliates to expand efforts particularly in those areas and industries where greatest exploitation of workers is taking place, where so many reactionary political officeholders are being spawned or maintained in seats of power, and where trade unionism has gained a toehold in face of the massive anti-union conspiracy of employers.

### Labor-Management Problems

WHEREAS, Scarcely four months ago, the chairman of the National Labor Relations Board delivered a speech entitled "Is the NLRB Still Alive?" He concluded that the board was "indeed alive, reasonably well, and living in Washington, D.C., . . ."

Many members of the labor movement have been asking this same question in recent years. However, the conclusion they reach is vastly different, and

WHEREAS, Few people connected with the labor movement deny the positive effect which the National Labor Relations Act has had since its passage in 1935. At that time, the Act was hailed as the "Magna Carta" of labor, an act which encouraged collective bargaining and had teeth, and

WHEREAS, Today, 38 years later, the bite is gone and the act is ineffective. A minority of employers, exemplified by J. P. Stevens, has demonstrated that they can flout the processes of the board with little or no repercussions, and

WHEREAS, Employers, like J. P. Stevens, have found that they can ignore the national labor policy without penalty. Employees are intimidated, coerced, discriminated against and fired with impunity when they seek to exercise their statutory rights to self-organization and collective bargaining, and

WHEREAS, The simple truth is that after more than 38 years of purported legislative protection, there is not presently any meaningful, effective or timely remedy to counter a hard core employer who engages in an unlawful refusal to bargain or discriminatorily discharges an employee to discourage membership in a union, and

WHEREAS, The remedial power originally given to the NLRB is no longer sufficient. Labor unions have found that signing up a majority of employees does not guarantee winning an election campaign. The employer is virtually free to intimidate and coerce employees subject only to a rerun election or the slim possibility of a bargaining order, and

WHEREAS, Once certified, unions have found that the duty to bargain provides little if any guarantee of true good-faith bargaining. Employers can easily avoid the statutory intent of the National Labor Relations Act by creating a superficial appearance of compliance with the duty to bargain. If violation is found, the employer is merely ordered to bargain in good faith. Such an order provides the employer with a second chance to create the appearance of compliance, and

WHEREAS, Remedies which would provide real teeth to the duty to bargain have been rejected by the board. Attempts to compensate employees for what they would have received had the employer bargained in good faith have been rejected as "penalizing" the employer, and

WHEREAS, Unfortunately, what is wrong with the board today goes beyond the absence of adequate remedies. Enforcement of the act itself has changed under the Nixon Board. Increasingly, the board has surrendered its prerogatives in favor of a more passive role. A few examples should suffice, and

WHEREAS, The Board has increasingly deferred consideration of unfair labor practice cases involving potential arbitrable issues. Under the Collyer doctrine, more and more of these cases are being sent to arbitration regardless of the greater expertise of the board in this area, and

WHEREAS, In the area of employer lockouts, the board now approves impasse lockouts even when they involve the use of nonunit temporary replacements. Earlier board decisions made the use of such temporary replacements during a lockout a per se violation, and

WHEREAS, The board has also receded from its aggressive stance on the duty to bargain over managerial decisions involving job elimination. Following the Supreme Court decision in Fibreboard (1964), the board expanded the duty to bargain over managerial decisions involving, among other things, partial closing of a multi-plant operation, relocation of operations, elimination of partial plant operations, changes in work procedures (operations) and certain aspects of automation. Recent decisions, however, have seen the board fall back from this position and rely instead on an expanded concept of management prerogatives, and

WHEREAS, The time has come for a major overhaul of the remedial powers of the NLRB if it is once again to protect the rights of employees "to self-organization, to form, join, or assist labor organizations, to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in other concerted activities."

1. Any employee who is fired because of union activity and where the board has issued a complaint alleging an illegal dis-

charge should be reinstated immediately so that he might earn a living.

2. Employees should be made whole by an employer for losses sustained due to the employer's unlawful refusal to bargain in good faith.

3. Employers who deliberately and repeatedly violate the NLRB should be barred from receiving government contracts.

4. The protection given to employers to pressure and coerce workers, under the guise of the "free speech" provision of the act, should be removed. Congress should recognize that any position taken by the employer—who has such absolute control of the employment destinies of his employees—is inherently coercive, and should require employers to remain neutral when their employees are considering selection of a bargaining agent.

5. The "agency" rule in the act should be changed so that vigilante committees and other third parties who work with employers to defeat union activities can be held responsible for their antiunion conduct; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO will strongly support such legislative action as is recommended in this resolution, to strengthen the remedial powers of the National Labor Relations Board, and be it further

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO will encourage legislative, political and legal activities which seek to restore a balanced objectivity in the enforcement of the National Labor Relations Act.

### **Non-Profit Hospitals**

WHEREAS, Some 1.7 million workers in non-profit hospitals continue to be unjustly denied their rights as citizens because they are not covered by the National Labor Relations Act. They do not have the right exercised by workers in proprietary hospitals and all types of nursing homes to have a voice in determining the conditions of their employment, and

WHEREAS, The American Hospital Association and the National Right to Work Committee succeeded last year in blocking corrective legislation. Now they are bitterly opposing two bills, S794 and HR1236, which would allow these workers the protection of the NLRA, and

WHEREAS, Passage of this legislation would help considerably to provide good labor-management relations in the non-profit hospital field. Since 95 percent of strikes at non-profit hospitals are for bargaining recognition, granting employees the right to a fair representation election would considerably curtail work stoppages; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** The AFL-CIO supports S794 and HR1236 and urges the Congress to speedily enact them into law.

### **Expedited Arbitration**

**WHEREAS,** Unions throughout the nation are encountering mounting problems in the operation of collective bargaining provisions for arbitration of grievances. The procedures are unduly expensive, complex and prolonged. Our members properly complain that justice delayed is justice denied, and

**WHEREAS,** Remedial steps are urgently required to avoid a complete breakdown and repudiation of arbitration arrangements which can only lead to industrial strife as a means of resolving grievances, and

**WHEREAS,** We note that actions are being taken by certain organizations to cope with these serious deficiencies. Thus, the Steelworkers' Union and the basic steel companies agreed in 1971 on an experimental expedited arbitration program. Under this program, panels of arbitrators have been established in steel centers to hear and decide routine grievances promptly and inexpensively. The cases are presented by plant level representatives of the parties with a minimum of technicality or paper work. In this way, badly needed new arbitrators are obtaining experience and backlogs of grievances are being eliminated or reduced, and

**WHEREAS,** The experiment in the steel industry has operated successfully and the parties recently agreed to continue and expand this program, and

**WHEREAS,** The program in the steel industry would appear to be equally applicable in other areas and industries; therefore, be it further

**RESOLVED:** The AFL-CIO should encourage the development of an experimental program of expedited arbitration in appropriate industrial centers.

### **Department of Labor Administration of the Landrum-Griffin Act and Executive Order Covering Federal Employees**

**WHEREAS,** In 1959 Congress passed the Landrum-Griffin Act, an act which purported to achieve a delicate balance of insuring the rights of union members without deviating from the long-standing principle of not unduly interfering with the administration of internal union affairs, and

**WHEREAS,** The legislative history of Landrum Griffin clearly reflects that Congress was satisfied that the vast majority of unions conducted their elections in a fair and democratic manner. Further, and most significantly, while Congress empowered the Secretary of Labor to initiate legal actions to set aside elections where valid complaints had been filed by individual union members, it took steps to insure that internal self-government would be preserved and encouraged. To this end, the so-called "exhaustion of internal union remedies" proviso was expressly inserted into the act. The purpose was simple yet absolutely vital to the trade union movement: the Secretary of Labor was not to file suits based on complaints which members had failed to raise during the course of his or her internal union protest, thereby guaranteeing full play to the self-government process, and

**WHEREAS,** Yet, the secretary promptly ignored this fundamental principle. He took the view that once a member filed any internal union protest and thereafter complained to the department, the secretary could later file suit based on any information uncovered in his investigation even though totally unrelated to the contents of the internal protest. Fortunately, the Supreme Court ultimately decided that the secretary was acting in clear excess of his statutory authority, and

**WHEREAS,** In recent years, we in the labor movement have been increasingly disturbed by what we see as a dangerous and undemocratic trend in the administration of the Landrum-Griffin Act by the Department of Labor. The example cited above tells only part of the story, and

**WHEREAS,** The Department of Labor, flushed by the success of a few recent cases involving flagrant violations of the act, apparently no longer seeks to preserve the once delicate balance. Instead, the department has resorted to attacking internal union policies and procedures based on an overly technical and restrictive reading of the statute. This inflexible and restrictive interpretation of the statute has resulted in the secretary's attacking certain election procedures even where the union procedures involved had been approved by the department in earlier years, and

**WHEREAS,** The labor movement believes that the department's action constitutes out and out harrassment. We strongly agree. It is an easy matter to find a technical violation of the Landrum-Griffin Act. There is not a union election held anywhere that could not potentially violate some section of the Landrum-Griffin Act if the act is read technically and unrealistically. For example, the act forbids the use of union funds and facilities to help a candidate during an election. This section was meant to cover clear cases of meaningful financial union support to one candidate or the other. However, what happens in a close

case, where a union official merely campaign for one candidate? How does anybody know if the official is campaigning on union time or his own time? Technically, a union official is on call 24-hours a day and therefore almost any campaign could be a potential violation. Yet, such an inflexible standard clearly would be entirely undemocratic and not in keeping with the legislative intent, and

WHEREAS, The Department of Labor, in seeking to vigorously enforce the act, has apparently forgotten the legislative intent, and

WHEREAS, as a result of the department's attack on democratic union processes, many long-established union practices have had to be vindicated in the courtroom. Affiliates have spent tremendous sums of money defending meeting attendance requirements provided in union constitutions to be eligible to run for office. Additional sums of money have been spent trying to restrict improper government attempts to expand the coverage of the Landrum-Griffin Act, and

WHEREAS, the hostile attitude of the Department of Labor is further exemplified by its actions in interpreting the Executive Order for Federal Employee Labor Relations and organization. These recent interpretations of the Executive Order have been so strict as to emasculate the entire concept of the Executive Order, and

WHEREAS, the trade union movement does not seek a non-functioning Department of Labor. We believe in the rights of union members and in the right of unions to administer their affairs without undue interference. However, a realistic balance must be established between the two; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** 1. That the Department of Labor be censured for its biased implementation of the Landrum-Griffin Act.

2. That the Secretary of Labor re-examine current administration and interpretation of the Landrum-Griffin Act and Executive Order for Federal Employee Labor Relations for the purpose of re-establishing a realistic implementation of both laws.

3. That the AFL-CIO and its affiliates oppose by all legal legislative and political means the hostile implementation of the Landrum-Griffin Act and federal Executive Order.

### **Union Shop**

WHEREAS, a fair days wage for a fair days work has been the union axiom, and

WHEREAS, "right to work" legislation by its very nature is

an anathema to the principles of the United States, of freedom through unity, and

WHEREAS, union principles are fair wages and working conditions which would affect every working person and is decidedly weakened when all workers are not members of a union; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That legislation be passed that union shop provisions be authorized not only in the private sector but in the public sector as well.

### **Airlines Mutual Aid Pact**

WHEREAS, The scheduled airlines have made an agreement called the Mutual Aid Pact, and

WHEREAS, This pact requires them to make enormous cash payments to the struck carrier from the first day of a strike, and this action creates negative management incentive to union bargaining demands, and

WHEREAS, The airline pact members have pledged to pay the struck carrier 50 percent to 35 percent of its operating expenses on a sliding scale basis for the first month of the strike and 35 percent thereafter for the remainder of the strike, and

WHEREAS, Without the overhead of employee costs this 50 percent to 35 percent of cash payments means that airlines previously in a loss position are receiving greater profits than if they were in full operation, and

WHEREAS, Since 1959, with the creation of the Mutual Aid Pact, there have been a series of lengthy strikes that have made profits for the struck carriers. Figures show well over \$100,000,000 has changed hands since 1959 with six major strikes on pact carriers (for totals of 160 days; 154 days; 119 days; 115 days; 95 days; 71 days respectively) and there is no question that these long profitable strikes are inevitable while the pact remains in effect, and

WHEREAS, AFL-CIO affiliates with airline membership have fought the pact before the Civil Aeronautics Board and are now in the U.S. Court of Appeals challenging a CAB decision upholding the pact, and

WHEREAS, The CAB decision overruled findings of its own administrative law judge that the pact was adverse to the public interest and violates the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, and

WHEREAS, Many national, local, and government officials are opposed to the pact and a number of bills have been introduced into Congress to ban the pact, and

WHEREAS, The airline industry is the first that has carried out this type of plan on a national level and if the airline industry succeeds, others will follow, and

WHEREAS, The time for a solid legislative program to defeat the airline pact is now; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO give full support to a program of legislative action to ban the Mutual Aid Pact, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports the efforts of airline industry unions to defeat the pact by legal action, public education and other activity.

### Iowa Beef Processors Lockout

WHEREAS, Since July 13, Iowa Beef Processors, the world's largest and most profitable producer of beef, has maintained a lockout against the 2,000 workers at its Dakota City, Iowa plant. This lockout was initiated in violation of a contract extension agreement signed under the auspices of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. The company is attempting to force the members of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters Local Union 222 into accepting a contract which would sharply increase the already massive wage differential of more than \$1.00 an hour suffered by these workers in comparison with packinghouse employees under union contracts with other major firms of the industry, and

WHEREAS, Despite the reports of a fact-finding panel fully supporting the union's basic economic position and despite repeated efforts by the Federal Mediation Service, the company has consistently refused any valid collective bargaining. At the same time, it has placed into effect in its three unorganized plants a wage increase bringing earnings in these plants substantially above those proposed for Dakota City, and

WHEREAS, These company actions are an arrogant display of contempt for the basic requirement of any fair labor practice. By the maintenance of poverty wage levels, Iowa Beef drives to achieve the super-abundant profit flow needed to win its avowed goal of becoming the General Motors of the meat industry, and

WHEREAS, By its viciously anti-labor tactics, Iowa Beef Processors has resisted union organization in each one of its plants and has succeeded in avoiding any union recognition for operations representing more than 40 percent of its capacity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the 10th Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO condemns as viciously irresponsible the program of Iowa Beef Processors, Inc. which is directed against the wage levels of the workers of the packinghouse industry, against the income level of farm producers and the buying level of consumers all over the nation; and be it further

RESOLVED: We call upon all affiliated local unions to give national support to the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen in its campaign to secure from IBP a new contract which will provide a measure of economic justice to its workers and will be at the same time consistent with the welfare of working farmers and city consumers.

For this purpose, this Convention urges full support to the Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union in this campaign together with full backing to consumer education campaigns against the consumer purchase of beef produced by this anti-labor corporation; and be it further

### Farah Strike

WHEREAS, More than 3,000 strikers at the Texas and New Mexico Farah plants are seeking to enter the mainstream of American life by joining a union—a right which millions of Americans already enjoy. They are mostly Mexican-American women, and they have had to face a variety of illegal harrassments in their 16-month-old walkout against the giant pants-manufacturing firm, and

WHEREAS, The NLRB has charged the company with unlawfully firing workers who supported the union, along with demoting union sympathizers, spying on workers and subjecting them to coercion and intimidation. The company has also ignored a NLRB order to bargain with the union, based on the 1970 election won by the union in the cutting rooms of the firm's plants in El Paso, and

WHEREAS, The strike is really a struggle for dignity and justice, and a major hope of the workers is the nation-wide boycott against Farah pants. A victory for the Farah Strikers will be a victory for unions everywhere, and

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America must succeed in this campaign, and we must step-up our support of the boycott against Farah pants. The boycott has already had an impact. In its financial report for fiscal 1972, the company reported a \$8.3 million loss against a profit of \$6 million for the preceding fiscal year. The sales of the company, as reported for the company's third fiscal quarter of 1973 which ended in July, indicated a drop of almost \$18 million in sales over the like period of 1972, which was before the onset of the strike, and

WHEREAS, The effectiveness of the boycott must be expanded, and civic organizations, clergymen, religious leaders, legislators, mayors, the AFL-CIO—all have pledged their aid; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That this Convention recognizes that the Farah strike is a great moral and social issue of our time and we pledge that we will not let up the "Don't Buy Farah Pants" boycott until the Farah workers achieve the justice, dignity and security they are struggling for.

### **Union Printing of Textbooks**

WHEREAS, The funds for the purchase of school textbooks are derived primarily from tax dollars levied by city, county, state and federal governments, with a large proportion of such tax dollars deducted from the paychecks of union workers, and

WHEREAS, Union workers are vitally concerned that their tax dollars be used to purchase the best possible textbooks for our school children and that these be manufactured under conditions of fair wages and working conditions, and

WHEREAS, There has been a growing trend for many textbook publishing firms and state universities to purchase their printing and binding from non-union, unfair book manufacturers, and

WHEREAS, Not only have these actions resulted in an increase in the number of unfairly produced textbooks in the hands of our children, but have caused job losses for thousands of union printing trades workers and have posed an economic threat to wages and working conditions of the remaining union jobs, and have encouraged unfair competition of non-union employers against fair printing employers, and

WHEREAS, The affected unions, through their jointly-operated International Allied Printing Trades Association is sponsoring and promoting a national program urging publishers to place their business with fair union printing plants and urging school boards, book selection committees, and/or purchasing agents to give preference, when possible to publishers who patronize fair employers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the 10th Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO go on record in support of programs which require that tax dollars spent for the purchase of school textbooks be tied to a requirement that such textbooks be manufactured under fair labor standards, which are best verified by a labor agreement, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO offer its full support to the International Allied Printing Trades Association and its affiliates

in its worthy endeavors to insure that American school children are furnished textbooks which are produced by skilled union printing trades workers, under fair working conditions.

## **SOCIAL SECURITY AND COMMUNITY SERVICES**

### **Old Age, Survivors, Disability and Health Insurance**

The AFL-CIO welcomes the recent substantial improvements that have been won in Social Security benefits. But much yet remains to be done. And we are particularly concerned about the burden of the Social Security contribution on the low and middle income workers during their working lives and the additional burden that would result if essential improvements are financed solely by the payroll tax.

The best way to relieve the payroll tax burden would be to use general revenues, raised as much as possible by progressive taxation, to partially finance the Social Security system.

Proposals to graduate the payroll tax according to income or to include the financing within the federal income tax system would endanger the widespread support now enjoyed by the system. A major reason for the popularity of the Social Security program is that the public looks upon benefits as an earned right with no stigma of welfare attached because beneficiaries have made contributions during their working lives. Proposals that totally exempt some workers from making any contributions would endanger this public support.

The same purpose can be accomplished without tampering directly with the Social Security financing mechanism and without the dangers inherent in it. This could be done by a rebate to low-wage earners from general revenue of a portion (not all) of the payroll tax in the manner of other governmental subsidies. This would relieve low income workers of most of the burden of the contribution. Since all workers would continue to contribute and since the rebates would be totally separate from the financing of the Social Security system, this approach would preserve the invaluable concept that benefits are a matter of earned right.

Though major progress has been made recently in improving the Social Security Act, including the adoption of a cost of living escalator to protect retirees against inflation, much remains to be done. Tying benefits solely to the cost of living would simply render the standard of living of the elderly static while that of the rest of the nation progresses. The nation's improved standard of living is due to increased productivity and these gains should be shared by those now retired who helped to create the growth as well as those currently at work. To permit Social Security recipients to share in America's progress, benefits should be periodically adjusted to keep pace with increases in wages and living standards.

The average Social Security benefit for a retiree is still only

about \$162 a month for an individual and about \$273 for a couple. Thanks in large part to the labor movement, many millions of retired Americans have supplemental pensions and millions more are accumulating pension credits under union contracts. Less than 20 percent of present retirees and only about a third of those retiring on Social Security today have eligibility for supplemental pensions and most of these amounts are small. Social Security must be more than a minimum floor of protection. The myth that the income gap can be filled by pensions, investments and savings is not valid. Social Security benefits should be improved to the point where all older people can maintain a decent standard of living on these benefits alone.

At the same time, pending enactment of an adequate National Health Security Plan, a complete range of health services must be provided older people by expanding the Medicare program. Per capita out-of-pocket direct payments for medical treatment of the aged are now actually higher than they were before Medicare began. These costs reached \$276 per year in fiscal year 1972, or \$42 more than the year before Medicare became law and this does not include the Medicare Part B premium charge which reached on July 1, 1973, \$6.30 per month or \$75.60 a year. (This increase was temporarily rescinded as a result of the 60-day price freeze.) In view of these harsh economic facts, the recent Administration proposal to cut back the Medicare program is a shameful example of a budget ideology that ignores essential human needs and will be vigorously opposed by the AFL-CIO.

To make major strides toward these goals we feel that among the most needed improvements are:

Insure periodic increases in social security benefits in excess of the rise in the cost of living which will reflect increases in national productivity and living standards. Concurrent improvements in the Supplemental Security Income Program so that every aged, blind and disabled person will have an income above the poverty level.

Provide an occupational definition of disability for older workers so that disabled workers unable to work at their usual occupations would be entitled to disability benefits.

Increase the number of drop-out years in the benefit formula as a first step toward a formula based on a high 5 or ten years of earnings.

Reduce the two-year, 5-month waiting period the disabled must now meet to receive Medicare benefits so that Medicare coverage starts when disability benefits begin.

Eliminate the monthly premium beneficiaries must pay for Part B (physician services) of Medicare by utilizing general revenue and without adding to payroll taxes.

Include prescription drugs under Medicare.

Enact a long-term care program for the elderly, either as part of Medicare or a National Health Program, that would fundamentally alter the present approach to long-term care with its

emphasis on indigency or institutionalization as a condition for receipt of benefits.

Utilize general revenue to help finance these improvements.

### Railroad Retirement

The AFL-CIO reaffirms its support of the position of the railroad unions that in the event of the adoption of a two-tier system no cost of the supplemental pension should be borne by railroad workers and that any future federal legislation for resolving any funding problems of the Railroad Retirement System fully reflect this position.

### Public Welfare

The Nixon Administration seems intent on abandoning a decade of social legislation designed to alleviate the human needs which lead to poverty and welfare. Coupled with this is its aim to slash budget funds at the expense of the very poor. The AFL-CIO will not retreat in the fight to achieve genuine welfare reform fair to the poor who are dependent on public assistance and the taxpayers who finance it.

Recognizing that two out of three poor families are in poverty because the breadwinner, though employable, is unemployed, under-employed or underpaid, we will continue to press for decent jobs at living wages as the most effective way to keep employable people off welfare.

The first step toward the elimination of poverty must be a national commitment toward full employment to insure jobs to all employables. For those people seeking employment and unable to find it in the private sector, we will seek to achieve a federal program providing public service employment with a wage floor no lower than the statutory minimum wage. Minimum wages must be raised substantially to help low-wage workers and their families get out of poverty.

For those people seeking employment, and unable to find it in either the public or private sector, we will work toward an expanded and upgraded system of unemployment insurance to cover their needs until suitable employment is available. The unemployment insurance system was designed to protect workers from income loss due to unemployment. Consideration should now be given to expanding it to cover the needs of new entrants as well as workers re-entering the labor market. But for those who can't work the AFL-CIO is committed to fundamental improvement of public welfare.

The federal government has taken the first step in accepting direct responsibility for providing for the basic needs of the elderly and disabled in the new Supplementary Security Income program. It must now make the same commitment to poor fam-

ilies with children. The basic income and service program, whether it is AFDC or a new welfare program for families, must provide an adequate level of living for families with children when the parent is unable to work or chooses to devote herself to her children's care. To the extent that their needs are not met by jobs, unemployment insurance or other programs, childless couples and single individuals should also be covered. When the federal government takes over these programs, provision must be made to protect workers and their unions, including collective bargaining, the job rights and employment conditions of public employees presently administering welfare programs.

Adoption of the measures we are recommending will go far toward eliminating poverty in America. This must be the nation's goal because in the final analysis, the measure of a great society is how well it cares for its neediest.

### Child Care

The AFL-CIO will continue the fight to save existing child care programs and forge ahead on our commitment to comprehensive child development legislation. We will insist that any legislation which is enacted meet three fundamental tests:

The legislation must meet the needs of working parents for comprehensive services to care for their children. There can be no dual system, with one kind of care for the children of welfare recipients and the working poor, and another kind for those who are able to pay.

Head Start, which has fully demonstrated its benefits to disadvantaged children, must be preserved in its essentials.

The legislation must steer clear of the various Administration schemes that have been proposed during the last few years: block grants, revenue sharing, performance contracting, vouchers, and the like. Legislation must include strong federal standards.

Until adequate legislation is enacted, the AFL-CIO will fight all inappropriate substitutes—whether it is custodial day care as part of some new welfare plan, some consolidation-and-block-grant scheme, or some new version of the voucher plans.

The AFL-CIO will support child development legislation that does not separate low-income children from those who are more fortunate, builds on and preserves the Head Start experience, meets adequate federal standards, and does not simply turn the problem over to the states.

## **Unemployment Insurance**

We favor a comprehensive reorganization and fundamental improvement of the unemployment insurance system under a single federal program with full protection of the job rights and employment conditions of all state employees who presently administer unemployment insurance. Pending such reorganization, the AFL-CIO will continue to urge Congress to enact unemployment insurance legislation to provide uniform minimum standards for eligibility, weekly benefit amounts, benefit duration and disqualifications.

To achieve these goals we recommend prompt enactment of legislation to:

Establish minimum federal benefit standards that will permit the application of the following principles to state enacted weekly benefit levels:

The state maximum weekly benefit amount should be equal to at least 66½ percent of the average weekly wage in covered employment.

The weekly benefit amount should replace not less than 66½ percent of the worker's full-time weekly wage or 1/20 of high-quarter earnings. This wage replacement principle should be applied to the great majority of covered workers. Individual benefits of at least 66½ percent of weekly wage-loss are needed to cover non-deferrable living expenses and maintain normal family living standards.

The base for computing benefit amounts should be the worker's full-time gross weekly earnings during those weeks of the base year when earnings were highest.

Dependent allowances may supplement an adequate basic benefit schedule, but they should be provided only as a specified flat increment per dependent, entirely separated from and supplemental to the basic benefit schedule.

Extending coverage to all wage and salary workers including all workers in small firms—employers of one or more workers at any time—domestic workers, agricultural workers, all workers employed by nonprofit organizations, and all workers employed by state and local governments.

Establish reasonable qualifying requirements (maximum limits for state laws should not exceed 20 weeks of work or its equivalent).

Require duration provisions in state laws that would maintain the original concept of a six-month period based on a five-month work period (26 weeks duration for 20 weeks of work).

Encourage the states to eliminate the waiting week by requiring it be compensated retroactively after a few weeks of unemployment; limit disqualifications in all cases to a fixed period (the maximum period to be established at six weeks or the average period of joblessness in the state whichever is less).

Prohibit application of a state disqualification period in claims

related to workers involved directly or indirectly in labor disputes including workers on strike as well as those in the following categories: unemployment as a result of a lockout; layoff during negotiations; an employer violation of any state or federal labor law, or any arbitration decision, or a labor dispute occurring at a location other than the worker's place of employment.

If, despite our recommendation, a disqualification is provided, it should not extend beyond a limited period (maximum of six weeks) after which the dispute can no longer be considered the main reason for continued unemployment.

Prohibit any reduction or cancellation of a worker's benefit rights or base period wages.

Improve the financing of the system by: permitting reduced rates on a basis other than experience rating for all covered employers, prohibiting zero tax rates, and raising the taxable wage base, in steps, to the same base used for purposes of financing Old-Age, Survivors, Disability and Health Insurance.

Federal legislation should also be enacted to establish an extended benefit program on a continuing basis for long-term unemployed workers who have had a firm attachment to the labor force. This program should also provide adequate opportunity for such workers to obtain vocational guidance and training as well as other appropriate types of assistance needed to qualify them for suitable jobs.

Consideration should also be given at an early date to extending the protection of the unemployment compensation program to new entrants into the labor force and to former workers attempting to re-enter the labor force.

## **Workmen's Compensation**

The AFL-CIO pledges its support to enactment of federal legislation which will establish federal standards for workmen's compensation. As a minimum first step in this direction, we urge passage of bills introduced by Senators Harrison Williams, Jr. (D-N.J.) and Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) in the Senate, and in the House by Representatives Carl D. Perkins (D-Ky.) and Dominick V. Daniels (D-N.J.). These bills would establish minimum federal standards that would provide the working men and women of this nation with the protection of a truly modern workmen's compensation program. This legislation would establish as minimum federal standards for state workmen's compensation programs most of the standards recommended by the AFL-CIO. These proposals include the following major AFL-CIO recommended workmen's compensation standards:

Compulsory coverage with no numerical exemptions.

Coverage of agricultural workers, domestic workers, and public employees in the same manner as other employees.

Benefit levels sufficient to maintain a decent standard of liv-

ing for injured workers and their dependents, with weekly benefits of not less than two-thirds of the injured worker's average weekly wage.

Reciprocity of benefit rights between jurisdictions.

Time limits within which an employe must file a claim for occupational disease of at least one year after the date when the employe has knowledge of the nature of his disability and its relation to his job and until after disablement.

Full statutory coverage of all occupational diseases.

Coverage of diseases caused by ionizing radiation.

Full medical benefits for job-incurred personal injuries and occupational diseases.

Full compensation protection under second injury funds.

Free choice of qualified physician by injured workers.

The workmen's compensation agency to have the authority to supervise and control medical care of injured workers.

The workmen's compensation agency to include a rehabilitation division which should promote full utilization and development of rehabilitation facilities for the benefit of injured workers.

Administration under a state agency rather than by the courts.

Benefits for the totally disabled for the period of disability.

In case of death, benefits to be paid to the widow until her death or remarriage, and to children at least during their minority, and to other dependents during the period of their inability of self-support.

Prohibition of special contracts with employers whereby a worker with a specific physical defect waives his right to compensation in the event of a subsequent injury.

Prohibition of lump-sum settlements and compromise of rights to full medical care under compromise and release settlements unless the workmen's compensation agency approves such a settlement on the advice of the appropriate state rehabilitation unit or agency.

Enactment of this legislation would substantially improve state workmen's compensation laws and at the same time assure full protection of the job rights and employment conditions of all state employees who presently administer workmen's compensation programs.

The AFL-CIO favors immediate action by Congress to establish these federal workmen's compensation standards. But, until federal legislation takes effect, every AFL-CIO affiliated organization should give increased support to efforts designed to include these same features in existing state workmen's compensation laws.

## National Health Security

We endorse the new National Health Security bill and pledge that the AFL-CIO will press unstintingly for its enactment.

The AFL-CIO and its affiliates will continue to expose the fallacies and deficiencies of the alternative so-called national health insurance bills. There is only one national health insurance bill. That is the Griffiths-Kennedy bill.

The AFL-CIO pledges to work closely with the Committee for National Health Insurance and its action arm, the Health Security Action Council, to develop NHS action committees in every state and in every congressional district to maximize grass roots pressure for enactment of National Health Security. The AFL-CIO urges all affiliates to cooperate with the Health Security Action Council in forming state and local action committees.

The AFL-CIO strongly supports the basic principles of National Health Insurance: comprehensive benefits without deductibles and co-insurance, cost and quality control, incentives for re-structuring the delivery system and consumer participation. When a National Health Insurance program takes effect, it must include protection for the workers and their unions, including collective bargaining and job rights and employment conditions in the health care industry, public and private.

## Pension Legislation

Congress is urged to enact reasonable federal standards of fiduciary responsibility for all health, welfare and pension plans and minimum standards of vesting and funding for pension plans.

A federal pension plan termination insurance program should be enacted to protect workers from the loss of their earned pensions.

Such legislation should take into account the legitimate differences between single and multi-employer plans and should establish different minimum standards for each type of plan.

## Health, Welfare and Legal Services

All affiliated unions should continue to expand health and welfare coverages. We reaffirm the AFL-CIO long standing policy of concern for the job opportunities available to physically and mentally handicapped workers. We urge that continued efforts be made in collectively bargained work agreements to maximize, to the extent feasible, the job security of all disabled workers.

Prepaid legal services hold much promise of providing a needed service for union members. Therefore, the AFL-CIO recommends

prepaid legal service plans should be incorporated into the collective bargaining programs of all affiliated national and international unions.

In the development of such programs legal services for union members and their families can best be provided through union or community sponsored prepaid group legal service plans. The alternative, open-ended fee-for-service arrangements, permits no effective cost controls and would lead to the same kind of runaway cost escalation many unions have suffered in fee-for-service medical programs.

It is recommended that all affiliates develop their programs in consultation with the National Consumer Center for Legal Services.

### **Prepaid Group Practice Plans**

The AFL-CIO calls upon each state and local central body to organize health committees to include representatives from local health and welfare plans to explore with other community groups the possibility of organizing a non-profit prepaid group practice plan.

The AFL-CIO urges all international unions and all health and welfare funds to include a dual choice option in their collective bargaining programs for health insurance benefits so that each member may have the opportunity to join a non-profit prepaid group practice plan if one exists in his community.

### **Human Resources Development Institute**

The Human Resources Development Institute is performing an important and needed service for organized labor in the manpower field.

HRDI is assisting the state and local central bodies on state and local manpower problems; HRDI is assisting local unions in their relationships with employers and governmental agencies concerning manpower training programs. HRDI is providing administrative and program coordination for the Apprentice Outreach Programs sponsored by local Building Trades Councils; and HRDI is responding to requests from national and international unions for assistance in dealing with their manpower problems.

HRDI has recognized that just as it serves the manpower needs of organized labor it also serves the needs of those disadvantaged Americans who, for lack of skills or education or the lack of jobs, have not been able to enter the labor force. HRDI, in its five years, of existence, has developed a staff and program capable of dealing with many of the problems of the disadvantaged. Concurrently, HRDI has continued to seek new

and better ways of utilizing existing manpower resources on behalf of the unemployed, the underemployed, young people and minorities. HRDI's Job Development and Placement Program, Veterans' Assistance Program and Prisoner Placement activities are examples of this active concern for the seriously disadvantaged.

In the face of rapidly changing Administration policies in the manpower field, the AFL-CIO will continue to look to HRDI to provide technical and program assistance to labor leadership at all levels.

We recommend that:

1. HRDI continue to involve state and local leaders of organized labor in manpower programs and in manpower planning.
2. State and local bodies establish manpower committees to enable them to deal more effectively with the proposed restructuring of the manpower delivery system by the Nixon Administration.
3. HRDI continue and expand its efforts in developing programs to assist special groups of disadvantaged persons such as prisoners, welfare recipients, veterans and young people to enter the labor force.
4. HRDI be commended for its role in assuming administrative responsibility for the Apprentice Outreach Programs sponsored by local Building Trades Councils.
5. HRDI continue to make its services available to national and international unions, in dealing with their manpower problems.

### **Veterans Affairs**

Nearly three million Americans served their country in combat in Southeast Asia. That war is now over and these servicemen have returned home to resume their civilian lives, to find jobs or return to school.

We believe that America has an obligation to assist these returning veterans by providing them the best medical care, decent education and employment assistance. Indeed, America has a stake in the educated veteran who can market his skills, earn a decent living and, thus, sustain himself as a productive member of society.

We are disturbed that this nation is not fulfilling its commitment to returning Vietnam era veterans. Unemployment among veterans, particularly those in the 20-24 year group, is far higher than the national average. The percentage of veterans utilizing their GI Bill benefits has declined markedly because the benefits have not kept pace with increased living costs.

To correct this, the AFL-CIO supports the following program of action for the employment and education of veterans:

1. Employment—Current Administration manpower policies, if carried out as planned, will have serious repercussions for the

Vietnam era veteran. Plans to phase out the public employment program will affect 54,900 veterans, of which 42,700 are Vietnam era veterans. Therefore, we renew our support of the public employment program.

A serious problem faces the more than 175,000 Vietnam era veterans discharged under less than honorable conditions. For reasons varying from drug abuse to inability to conform to military standards, they face society with a stigma far greater than any released criminal offender—branded by the military and re-entering civilian life with little potential for finding decent employment. Many of these discharges were administrative actions without legal protections as provided in courts martial. We support legislation that would establish regional, independent discharge review boards to speed the process of individual case reviews to correct any injustices. We also favor legislation that would prevent the military from including extraneous discharge information on government records provided employers.

The AFL-CIO Human Resources Development Institute is prepared to assist disadvantaged veterans with employment problems by developing special programs through state and city central bodies of the AFL-CIO. Additionally, in conjunction with other labor representatives on local manpower planning councils, HRDI will continue its efforts to see that veteran preference remains an integral part of local manpower training programs.

Finally, the AFL-CIO will continue to support the Jobs for Veterans National Committee, which has among its membership thirteen representatives of organized labor, in its efforts to improve employment and training opportunities for former servicemen. The AFL-CIO also urges all affiliated unions and state and local central bodies to continue their cooperation with the Human Resources Development Institute in the Veterans Assistance Program which is organized labor's major effort directed at opening up training and job opportunities for veterans.

2. Education—Despite a 25 percent increase in GI Bill education benefits in 1972, the benefits continue to be eroded by inflation. In addition, benefits are less today in real dollar value than those benefits accorded World War II veterans. We believe GI Bill benefits should be increased to parity with post-World War II benefits and should be protected against future cost-of-living increases.

For those veterans who need extra assistance to attend the school of their choice, a low-interest tuition loan program should be established for veterans only.

At present, federal regulations governing veterans pursuing vocational technical education pose unfair burdens on veterans as compared with non-veterans pursuing the same courses of study. These regulations should be updated to conform with

existing educational practices, consistent with the needs of the government to monitor the programs.

### **Health Programs**

The AFL-CIO calls upon Congress to hold hearings with regard to the expiring public health service programs for the purpose of improving them where improvements are needed and of consolidating them where consolidation is indicated.

Congress should appropriate sufficient funds to carry out the purposes of the Public Health Service Act.

The AFL-CIO will continue to support federal legislation designed to increase and improve medical manpower, to bring about a better geographic and specialty distribution of physicians, to improve the quality of health services, to bring about a more rational organization of medical care services, to establish effective controls on the cost of medical care and to distribute the cost of quality care more adequately throughout the whole population.

### **Long-Ribicoff Health Insurance Proposal**

Senators Long and Ribicoff have introduced a so-called catastrophic insurance program (S2513) as an alternative to true national health insurance.

S2513 would help only the very poor and the rich. For the great majority of middle income Americans, however, it would do very little. Yet all working people would have to pay more in social security and income taxes.

S2513 would do nothing to improve the chaotic health care delivery system or alleviate health manpower shortages or better distribute medical resources.

The bill would federalize and slightly improve upon the Medicaid program for the poor. It is supposed to place upper limits on medical expenses but S2513 would do nothing to protect millions of Americans who cannot afford private insurance that covers the first 60 days of hospitalization and \$2,000 in medical expenses, as required by S2513. Additionally, it would encourage providers to use the most expensive forms of treatment to reach the thresholds faster.

Employees of small businesses and marginal employers who cannot afford more than minimal group health insurance plans would not be helped by S2513.

S2513 would not help the near-poor who are unable to afford an adequate health insurance policy.

Insurance companies have not improved their policies to provide comprehensive coverage. S2513 would continue the present practice of private insurance which emphasizes in-hospital expenses while virtually ignoring diagnostic or preventive health care.

More than one-fourth of the civilian population under 65 has no coverage for X-ray and laboratory examinations outside the hospital. More than half the population has no coverage for physician visits in the home or office; about half have no coverage of prescription drugs outside of the hospital.

S2513 would do nothing to correct these gaps or improve basic health insurance for most of the working population.

Even after the experience of sharp cost escalation that occurred because of abuses by physicians, hospitals and fiscal intermediaries in Medicare, S2513 would only compound these abuses by adopting the same ineffective cost and quality controls in Medicare.

Its so-called catastrophic insurance would result in a neglect of preventive and day-to-day care, thereby guaranteeing more catastrophic illness and higher medical bills. Thus, the bill is the antithesis of what a good health program should be.

There is only one program that provides comprehensive benefits to the entire population. There is only one program that has effective cost and quality controls. There is only one program that has incentives to improve the delivery of health services and to bring about a better distribution of physicians, geographically and by specialty. There is only one program that places emphasis on preventive care and early diagnosis and treatment.

In fact, there is only one bill that is a health program rather than an insurance program to passively pay doctor and hospital bills. That is the National Health Security Program sponsored by Representative Griffiths and Senator Kennedy, and we are proud to reaffirm our whole-hearted support of Health Security.

## ACTIONS AFFECTING AFFILIATES

### State and Local Central Bodies

The problem of affiliations continues to be a vexing and unresolved impediment to the achievement of maximum effectiveness of the State and Local Central Bodies of the AFL-CIO. Efforts to resolve this problem must be intensified.

To this end we reaffirm support of State and Local Central Bodies, commend their efforts to carry out the policies and programs of the AFL-CIO and call upon all affiliated national and international unions to fully support the State and Local Central Bodies through affiliation and participation of their local unions.

### Retired Members

Retired union members are a great national resource. It is important for organized labor to make the fullest use of their wisdom, talents and skills. A major objective of the AFL-CIO has been to encourage international unions and state and local central bodies to keep in touch with retired members through senior citizens clubs organized with union backing. More widespread organization of retirees could make a significant contribution to achieving the goals of organized labor.

One problem that the AFL-CIO has encountered is that many of the most effective measures by international unions for initiating senior citizens clubs and for maintaining a continuing relationship with retired members required convention action and constitutional changes. Many unions find that they cannot undertake the kind of program they desire because appropriate convention action has not been taken and that their next convention will not be held for two, three or four years.

The AFL-CIO urges all international unions, local unions and state and local bodies to actively pursue programs to establish retired members clubs, affiliate them with the National Council of Senior Citizens, and where appropriate, to take required convention action and to make necessary changes in constitutions to facilitate achievement of these objectives.

### Union Label Week

WHEREAS, The primary concern of the AFL-CIO Union Label and Service Trades Department is the need to make the general membership of the AFL-CIO and the general public aware of the importance of buying and demanding products bearing the union label and/or union made and give preference to service establish-

ments identified by the shop card, store card or service button, and

WHEREAS, The annual observance of Union Label Week is of vital importance in the department's year-round effort to make more people aware of the union label, shop card, store card and service button, and

WHEREAS, The Union Label and Service Trades Department continues to expand on both the national and local level, and

WHEREAS, The Union Label and Service Trades Department, in convention assembled, officially set aside the periods of September 2-8, 1974 and September 1-7, 1975 as Union Label Week; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, in convention assembled, also officially designate the periods September 2-8, 1974 and September 1-7, 1975 as Union Label Week for these respective years.

### **Union-Industries Show**

WHEREAS, The Union-Industries Show, sponsored by the AFL-CIO Union Label and Service Trades Department, demonstrates the varied skills and crafts which members of the trade union movement perform, and

WHEREAS, The displays at the Union-Industries Show have contributed to its growth in every realm as well as expanding the recognition and acceptance by both members of the AFL-CIO and the general public, and

WHEREAS, If all AFL-CIO national and international unions would participate in the show it would broaden the scope of these displays and would enhance their ability to relate the history of trade unionism to all the world, and

WHEREAS, The cooperation and participation of all national and international unions of the AFL-CIO would be advantageous to everyone and to the effect of the exhibits at the Union-Industries Show, and

WHEREAS, The Union Label and Service Trades Department, in convention assembled, unanimously voted to cordially invite all national and international unions of the AFL-CIO to participate in the upcoming Union-Industries Shows of 1974 and 1975; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations also invite all of its national and international unions to participate in the 1974 and 1975 Union-Industries Shows.

## **INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

### **World Affairs**

The AFL-CIO has consistently and vigorously supported U.S. efforts to achieve genuine detente and lasting peace with freedom. We have welcomed all progress towards genuine detente which means elimination of the sources of international tension and expansion of freedom. A detente with the Communist superpowers which only recognizes the status quo, solidifies their regimes, buttresses their shaky economic system and enables them to strengthen their military potential and advance their expansionist designs does not serve the cause of peace with freedom. Such a detente does not even put an end to the cold war which the Communists admittedly intend to continue under the label of "ideological struggle." Nor does it halt so-called wars of national liberation initiated and aided by Moscow and Peking.

To date, detente has been a rather one-sided affair: — huge concessions made by the democracies to the Communist powers while the West has reaped very few benefits. In its negotiations with Communist China and in the two U.S.-Soviet summit conferences, the Nixon Administration was the giver and the other side the taker. The AFL-CIO views these developments with great concern. Continuation of this course could only hurt our national interests and weaken the free world. We propose that, in all future talks with the Communist superpowers, our government apply the principle of quid pro quo and not make any concessions without receiving adequate reciprocal concessions.

The AFL-CIO does not favor granting most-favored-nation treatment, large long-term credits, technological know-how and other economic benefits to the Soviet Union. The Soviets will use such concessions less to improve the living standards of their people than to prop up their economy and continue their vast rearment program. The AFL-CIO has urged the Administration to insist—in exchange for commercial advantages—on Soviet political concessions such as granting the right of self-determination to the satellite nations and the German people; annulment of the Brezhnev Doctrine; abolition of the Berlin Wall; free communications across the boundaries of the Russian Empire; no jamming of Western radio broadcasts, etc. Congress should at least adopt the Jackson amendment seeking freedom of emigration for the people behind the Iron Curtain before according most-favored-nation status to the USSR. No sales of U.S. food and industrial products to the Soviet Union should be permitted when they lead to scarcities and price increases for the American people.

In the SALT I Pact, the USSR obtained quantitative superior-

ity in nuclear weapons over the United States. In the present SALT II negotiations, the Soviets seek to eliminate the qualitative superiority still enjoyed by our country. If Moscow were successful in this drive, the Soviet Union would become the strongest nuclear power in the world. In that event, our national security would be endangered. Consequently, our government should make no further concessions to Russia.

Furthermore, in the SALT II negotiations, the Administration should seek numerical equality in intercontinental ballistic weapons. The Soviets should be called upon to reduce their forces to U.S. levels. Our government should likewise return to its traditional insistence on the principle of manned on-site international inspection—a principle which President Nixon unfortunately abandoned in the U.S.-Soviet Accord on Nuclear Arms Talks of June 21, 1973. The Administration should also reject the Soviet demand to include in the SALT negotiations the forward-based systems, the U.S. tactical forces in Europe which we maintain under our NATO obligations. Up to the second Brezhnev-Nixon meeting we had refused to yield on this matter. To do this now would jeopardize the security of our allies. In view of Moscow's great superiority in conventional arms, this U.S. nuclear shield is indispensable as a deterrent to any Soviet aggression. Everything should be done to keep this shield intact.

After having finally and reluctantly consented to negotiations on force reductions in Central Europe, the Soviet Union now seeks to prevent an eventual troop withdrawal which would be balanced; that is, the cutback in Soviet forces should be larger than the pull-back of American contingents. At the Brezhnev-Nixon summit, the Soviets succeeded in having the term "balanced" ("B") eliminated from the name of the talks on mutual and balanced force reductions (MBFR). In spite of the dropping of the word *balance*, our government should demand that any force reductions should be truly balanced in order not to weaken the defense of Western Europe. As long as the MBFR negotiations have not produced a satisfactory result, U.S. troops should be maintained in full strength in Europe.

At the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the Soviet Union's objectives are recognition of her postwar conquests, the weakening of the Atlantic Alliance, blocking European political unity and gaining a determining influence upon West-European affairs. It is encouraging that the West has resisted Soviet demands in this respect and emphasized that security and cooperation in Europe are tied to freer contacts, to a large and unrestricted exchange of people, information and ideas between East and West. In this connection, we regret that in the agreement signed at the Brezhnev-Nixon meeting our government has acquiesced in the Soviet demand that cultural exchanges "shall be subject to the Constitution and applicable laws and regulations of the respec-

tive countries." This formula is a subterfuge by Moscow designed to bar freedom of information. At the CSCE, our government and the European representatives should insist that the Soviets open up their closed society to the "winds of change." To help achieve that goal, we call upon Congress to insure the continuation of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty by passing a fully-funded program for the effective functioning of these instruments of open communication of information and ideas to the USSR and its captive nations in the heart of Europe.

Since there is no bona fide detente, it is imperative that the U.S. continue its role of leadership in the free world. There can be no American disengagement, no weakening of America's commitment to the defense of international peace and freedom. Neo-isolationism must be resolutely rejected. The Administration and the Congress should cooperate to ensure that U.S. military power is maintained in undiminished strength.

The Atlantic Alliance, as the foundation of a free Europe, must be reinforced. Our government should end its neglect of NATO and give top priority to relations with our allies. Towards this end, it is less important to draft a new Atlantic Charter (as proposed by the Administration) than to re-establish close friendly and trustworthy cooperation between our country and its European partners. In order to avoid the suspicion of making deals behind the back and at the expense of the European members of NATO, we should consult the latter before we engage in any future negotiations with the Soviets.

On the other hand, our European allies should increase their contributions to NATO not only in conventional forces but also by shouldering a larger share of the costs involved in the stationing of U.S. troops in Europe. Without insisting on a linkage between American expenditures for NATO and European monetary and trade concessions to the U.S., we should urge our allies to adopt measures which would help us overcome our present balance of payment difficulties caused in part by our commitments to European defense. In spite of our present differences over trade policies with the European Community, we should continue to promote European political unity in the interest of a free and strong Europe which can make an increasing contribution to world peace.

In Asia, too, in its wooing of Communist China, the Administration has permitted its relations with Japan, India and other free nations to deteriorate. We should hasten to strengthen our ties with these countries and especially reestablish close cooperation with Japan which has felt passed over by our rapprochement with Communist China and the USSR. As in Europe, there can be no U.S. disengagement in Asia since Communist China and the Soviet Union are pursuing their efforts to extend their influence and control over the rest of the continent and pushing ahead relentlessly with their military build-up.

In view of continued military and economic aid by Moscow and Peking to Hanoi, the United States should grant adequate military and economic assistance to South Vietnam and other non-Communist countries in Indochina to help them withstand persistent Communist aggression. At the same time, the Administration should insist that President Thieu carry out economic reforms and restore democratic liberties, including freedom of association, as the best guarantee against Communist subversion. The AFL-CIO should expand its aid to the Vietnamese Confederation of Labor (CVT) which is the soundest bulwark of democracy and social justice in Vietnam.

In the Middle East the threat to Israel's survival persists. The Soviet Union continues to arm the most fanatical enemies of the Israeli state. Her Arab neighbors are still unwilling to make peace with Israel. In view of the renewed warfare, the U.S. should go on granting Israel ample military and economic aid. The Administration should pursue its policy of favoring direct negotiations between the parties concerned as the only way to reach a just and durable settlement of the conflict.

We also urge our government to show greater interest in and to give more help to the underdeveloped countries which have been too much ignored in recent years. In this spirit, we have always supported a generous AID program. Above all, we consider it imperative that the well-being of the people, as well as the fate of democracy in Latin America, should again be one of the foremost concerns of our government. If the people in one half of the Western hemisphere suffer from poverty, ill health, illiteracy and the denial of freedom, the people in the other half cannot, in the long run, enjoy a secure and prosperous life. It is in our own interest to revitalize the spirit and substance of the Alliance for Progress program.

Regarding Africa, we should increase our opposition to colonial oppression persisting in the Portuguese territories, in Rhodesia and Southern Africa. Our government should vigorously protest against the repression and exploitation of the majority of the population, that is, the black people, in these countries. The Administration should encourage and support all endeavors designed to secure for these people the right of self-determination and self-rule.

The cause of freedom is indivisible. For that reason, we back freedom everywhere—not only behind the Iron Curtain but also on our side of the Iron Curtain. In this connection, we deeply deplore the absence of democratic liberties in Spain, Portugal and Greece. Their dictatorial regimes are a blot on the escutcheon of the free world. Our government should use all the influence, authority and resources at its disposal to promote in these countries liberalization, a return to constitutional rule and the restoration of the people's rights and freedoms.

The AFL-CIO has always taken the position that a free and strong international labor movement is an indispensable, powerful, force for peace, freedom and social progress in the world. In this realization, we have maintained friendly and close relations with free trade unions everywhere. Our cooperation with them has been especially intensive in the International Trade Secretariats. We urge our affiliates to expand their participation in these vital organizations. We have likewise continued to work fruitfully with free union representatives in the International Labor Organization. Our joint endeavors have thwarted Communist moves to destroy the tripartite structure of the ILO and to transform the International Labor Organization into an instrument of Soviet foreign policy. We will continue our fight to preserve the ILO as an effective instrument for the protection and promotion of workers' interests.

The policies outlined here are essential for safeguarding our national security, preserving world peace, insuring the independence of our allies and advancing freedom and democracy. As long as the Communist superpowers have not given up their goal of world domination, as long as they wage ideological warfare and engage in subversive activities against the democracies, and as long as they rearm at a furious pace, the United States should do its utmost to remain the strongest military power, strengthen NATO and its relationship with Japan, and exert strong political leadership. The United States and her allies should continue to be united and vigilant and not fall a prey to illusions about detente. They should use the Soviet Union's obvious need for Western economic, financial and technological aid to demand in return concessions which would alleviate the plight of the people behind the Iron Curtain who yearn for liberty, democracy and a better life, but whom detente has brought only increased repression. Otherwise, the present detente will only help the Soviet (as well as the Chinese) regime to extricate itself from its domestic difficulties. As in the past, detente would once again be followed by a period of greater international tension and aggressive moves on the part of a Soviet Union strengthened by Western economic aid and concessions in the military and political fields.

In sum, we should be alert to the danger that euphoria over detente might undermine the strength and unity of the West and, thus, threaten the very existence of the free world.

### For Detente with Freedom

As an implacable foe of war, American labor has always supported a policy of detente which serves to establish a stable and lasting peace. In the era of the hydrogen bomb, any other course would be suicidal. However, in order to ensure that detente achieves its objective, all agreements must be in the mu-

tual interest, concessions should be reciprocal, and guarantees must be provided that the agreements will be kept.

An examination of the major pacts negotiated to date in the name of detente will show that most of them do not meet the above-mentioned conditions. The treaties concluded by the Federal Republic of Germany with the Soviet Union, Poland and the "German Democratic Republic," SALT I, the Four-Power Agreement on Berlin, and the accords signed at the Second Nixon-Brezhnev Summit Meeting were all more beneficial to the Communist countries than to the Western nations.

What is more, the Soviet Union now seeks benefits from the West which are plainly and solely in her interest and for which no return compensation whatsoever for the free nations is to be provided. At the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the USSR demands recognition of her post-war conquests in East Europe and a vast expansion of trade and technological aid. In bilateral negotiations, especially with the United States, Moscow has sought to obtain huge credits and other commercial favors (Most Favored Nation—MFN—treatment). The economic advantages the Soviet government offers in return are mostly pie in the sky and, at best, costly and far-off.

So far, the record shows that the Soviet Union wants a relaxation of international tension primarily for the purpose of continuing her colossal military buildup and bolstering her inefficient and shaky economic system. Moreover, the Soviets favor detente not in order to promote world peace and the welfare of their own people but to pursue their expansionist foreign policy and tighten their repressive rule at home and in East Europe.

To help Moscow achieve these goals would be detrimental to the national security of the United States and its allies and harmful to the people behind the Iron Curtain.

To prevent such calamitous results of detente, it is imperative that, in the forthcoming negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union (SALT II), our country insist on a fair balance being struck between Western concessions and Soviet counter-concessions. Otherwise, if the present pattern is continued, the Soviet Union will emerge from these negotiations with her formidable and growing military might further strengthened. As a result, world peace would be more precarious than ever.

The Western nations should insist on a price for the benefits they grant Moscow. This price should be a betterment of conditions for the people behind the Iron Curtain. We should de-

mand that the Kremlin rulers grant more freedom to the people they hold in their grip. Thus, at the CSCE we should ask for an annulment of the odious Brezhnev Doctrine and for the implementation of the right of self-determination for the satellite nations. We should reject the Soviet position that the present boundaries are unalterable for all times and take the view that they may be changed by peaceful means and agreement freely reached by the parties concerned.

Under the present arrangements with the Soviet Union, our trade, credits and technological know-how are nothing but gifts bestowed upon Moscow. As the wheat deal has shown, the American people will have to pay dearly for such largesse in the form of higher prices and shortages. Such transactions may bring huge profits to some big business groups in the United States, but they are only an additional burden for the average American tax-payer. Consequently, the American people are entitled to demand some reward for their sacrifices.

This is why the AFL-CIO supports the Jackson Amendment which would deny MFN treatment to the Soviet Union, unless she grants freedom of emigration to her citizens. We also welcome Congressional efforts to apply the same restrictions to government-backed credits.

Moscow's economic requests should be taken into consideration only if the Soviet government will permit a free exchange of persons, ideas and information. Any pledges Moscow may make in this respect must be accompanied by iron-clad guarantees.

The Soviet government has denounced such a quid pro quo as interference in its internal affairs. Such an attitude ill behoves a government which has constantly and systematically interfered in the internal affairs of other nations by its officially proclaimed policy of ideological warfare and by subversion, and even by direct military means.

As Andrei Sakharov and Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the courageous spokesmen of the human rights movement in the Soviet Union, have pointed out, a true detente is possible only if it is based on the approval and cooperation of the Soviet people. Otherwise, they have warned, detente might become appeasement and lead to another Munich with all its tragic consequences.

Afraid that wider contacts with the West will encourage the fight for democracy in the Soviet Union, the Kremlin rulers have increased their repression since the very beginnings of detente. They are confident that the West, anxious to bring about a relaxation of tension, will not raise any protest. Here we must show Moscow that its calculations are wrong.

For these reasons, the 10th Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO raises its voice clear and loud and demands Detente with Freedom.

### War in the Middle East

The war unleashed by Egypt and Syria against Israel on the Day of Atonement is clearly a brazen violation of the United Nations truce line established in 1967. Already, nine Arab countries are at war against Israel.

This terrible war had been carefully and thoroughly prepared for months, not only militarily but also economically, politically and diplomatically. The war could never have come without the massive Soviet supply of the most sophisticated offensive weaponry to Cairo and Damascus. Since the outbreak of hostilities, the Kremlin has urged all Arab countries to join in all-out military combat against Israel. Simultaneously, the USSR has organized an enormous airlift of arms to the Arab aggressors in order to spread the flames of war and bring about the destruction of democratic Israel.

This provocative Soviet conduct has the support of the Soviet satellites and Communist China. This course flatly violates the spirit and substance of the agreement reached by Brezhnev with President Nixon at their last Summit meeting when they solemnly declared that they were "guided by their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations" and jointly affirmed that: "The USA and the USSR have a special responsibility . . . to do everything in their power so that conflicts or situations will not arise which would increase international tensions."

The Soviet behavior in the Middle East crisis has dealt a fatal blow to the course of detente which Moscow has pretended to champion in order to secure the huge American and other western economic and technological assistance it so badly needs.

This Soviet course has jeopardized the balance of power, so vital to the maintenance of peace, in the Middle East. This threat to the balance of power in so highly strategic an area seriously menaces world peace and the most vital national interests of our own country. It is, therefore, of paramount urgency that the U.S. spare no effort or material resources to prevent the destruction of Israel as a beacon of democracy and human freedom in this turbulent area.

We therefore urge our government to:

1. Carry out a massive airlift and maritime shipment of planes, tanks, anti-aircraft guns, and all other urgently needed supplies in order to secure the maximum replacement of the weaponry lost to date by Israel in the present war.

2. Offer Israel and any other Middle East country that is ready to enter into direct peace negotiations and an immediate end to hostilities a guarantee of its national independence and sovereignty.

3. Cease all economic, technological and military assistance to any country in the Middle East that persists in military aggression, or resorts to any economic measures against our economy.

4. Urge NATO to appeal to the Arab nations to join with Israel in ending all military hostilities. Should its appeal go unheeded, we urge our government to make every effort to have NATO declare its solidarity with and support of Israel in its war of defense and survival.

5. Seek the support of the UN and all world powers for the immediate holding of an Arab-Israeli conference for negotiating directly the terms of a lasting peace settlement. This conference should consider not only the UN 1967 resolution but also the refugee problem, as well as a plan for utilizing the vast material and human resources of the embattled nations for the benefit of their people. International assistance should be provided to promote economic reconstruction of this war-scorched area and the betterment of the working conditions and living standards of all nations in the region.

We appeal to all free trade union organizations to rally in support of Israel and to do everything in their power to influence their respective governments towards this end. Likewise, we appeal to all AFL-CIO affiliates, to all the working people of the United States, and to the American people to speed generous help to the cause of peace and freedom which Israel is now defending so courageously against terrible odds.

The Convention declares its full solidarity with and support of the Histadrut which plays so valiant and invaluable a role in the building of a free society and peace-loving state dedicated to social justice.

In this critical hour, we strongly urge that all of our affiliates co-operate with the American Trade Union Council for Histadrut in its efforts to raise funds for medical care of the wounded and other vitally needed services. We also urge increased investment in State of Israel bonds, as a sign of our continued support of Israel and our confidence in her future.

The Convention takes note of the unanimously adopted U.N. Security Council for an on-site cease fire in the Arab-Israeli war.

No one can object to the halting of the senseless and cruel conflict in the Middle East. This war was launched by Egypt and Syria with the encouragement and equipment of the Soviet Union. This fact must never be forgotten by those who earnestly seek peace.

There should be no illusions about the difficulties in the path of an equitable and enduring peace in this highly strategic area. The AFL-CIO Convention emphasizes that, more than ever, the first requirement for attaining peace in the Middle East is direct negotiations between the countries at war.

### No Free Trade Union Exchanges with Totalitarian Labor Fronts

The question whether free trade unions should enter into delegation exchanges, pacts or partnerships with the Communist Labor Fronts has become the source of divisions in the ranks of bona fide international trade unionism.

The founding convention of the AFL-CIO, in December 1955, unanimously decided that:

"The AFL-CIO rejects, as a matter of principle, the idea of free labor sending delegations to any country which prohibits free trade unions, outlaws all free trade union activities, and penalizes workers for advocating free trade unionism—whether such countries be Communist or Fascist or any other totalitarian hue. We oppose this . . . maneuver to have free trade union delegations visit the Soviet slave orbit as a vital phase of the Big Smile strategy calculated to confuse and divide the democratic camp. Moscow wants free trade union delegation visits to lend moral respectability and legitimacy to its regime which has robbed its people of every fundamental human right, keeps millions of its subjects in slave labor camps, and denies the workers the right of freedom of association and organization, the right of genuine collective bargaining, and the right to strike."

Over the years, the AFL-CIO, in Executive Council and Convention decisions, has reaffirmed this policy. The ICFTU endorsed and reaffirmed this course at least a dozen times. But in recent years, under the pressure of political parties, governments, and subversive intrigue, some labor unions have succumbed to the illusion that world peace would be fostered by treating counterfeit labor bodies as if they were genuine trade unions. They have fallen prey to the hypocritical pleas of the Communist Labor Fronts for unity of action, especially against multinational corporations.

Simultaneously, changes of the gravest importance have occurred in the Communist world. Attempts of the Czechoslovak workers in 1968 to win some labor and human rights were mercilessly crushed by the military juggernaut of the Soviets and their satellites. Inside the USSR, there has been a stepped-up repression of dissidents crying for social justice and elementary human freedom.

The newest Soviet Labor Code (July 1970) makes the so-called unions in the USSR more than ever an arm of the Communist dictatorship for policing production and more intense speed-up. This new code, more of a penal code than a Labor Code, provides for "enforcement of work norms by the state with the help of the trade unions" (Section 1, Article 2). It decrees that "The standard wage shall be established by the State with the help of the trade unions." And "The work of employees shall be remunerated on the basis of charts of job salaries established centrally." (Section V, Article 37).

If the factory manager does not like the product turned out by the worker, the Labor Code provides that "complete rejects for which the worker or employee is responsible . . . are not subject to payment." (Section V, Article 43.)

"Measures of disciplinary and social influence may be applied in necessary cases against individual unconscientious workers." (Section V, Article 52). Section V, Articles 55 and 56, spells out the "measures of discipline and social influence" as "reproach, reprimand, severe reprimand, transfer to lower paid work, or demotion to a lower position." Workers branded by the Communist Party as "unconscientious" are denied all benefits to be enjoyed by the "conscientious." Article 55 provides that only "Workers and employees who have successfully and conscientiously performed their job duties shall first of all be granted priority and benefits in the area of social welfare, cultural, housing, and everyday services (trips to sanatoriums and rest homes, improvement in housing conditions, etc.). Such workers shall also be given priority in job advancement."

Of course, the right to strike, bona fide collective bargaining, and freedom from control by the Communist Party are not even hinted at in this so-called Labor Code. Contrary to what distinguished Western labor leaders "learn" at Kremlin banquets, the Constitution of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions stipulates that the organization works under the instructions and direction of the Soviet Communist Party.

No employer in any modern country in the free world would dare to suggest such inhuman treatment of labor.

It is one thing for the U.S. government to negotiate and deal with the Soviet government. They are counterpart organizations. But the Soviet Labor Fronts are not bona fide trade unions. They are not counterparts but counterfeits. The recent free trade union exchanges and dialogues with these Labor Fronts have done nothing to transform these agencies of the totalitarian-dictatorship into representative bodies of the workers. Dialogues between free trade union officials and Russian Labor Front officers, like former Political Police Chief Shelepin, have done nothing to bring Western and Iron Curtain workers closer to each other. In this report on

the occasion of the 50th anniversary of "Great October," Brezhnev openly boasted that: "In the conditions of a people's state, the ties of KGB (Secret Police) agencies with the working people are especially strong." Dr. Ley, boss of Hitler's Labor Front, never was that open.

The Kremlin rulers, who are hostile to the free exchange of ideas, are eager to have their Labor Fronts expand their contacts with bona fide trade unions because such contacts help them hide their real nature as state company unions. When free trade union visitors issue joint statements with the Soviet "union" officials, handpicked by the Communist Party, as Shelepin boasted he was, these "solemn declarations" invariably fail to criticize any of the Soviet failings and misdeeds. This serves only to dash the hopes of those Soviet workers who yearn for freedom and genuine trade unions. And free union pilgrimages to Moscow only aid the drive against the dissidents struggling so heroically for freedom.

In the struggle against the evils of the multinational corporations, the Communist Labor Fronts cannot be of any assistance to the workers of the free world. Today, the giant multinational corporations are cooperating with Communist dictatorships. The Labor Fronts behind the Iron and Bamboo curtains cannot be effective partners of free trade unions in any contest with the multinationals for they have no right to strike or to take any effective action against their government which is their sole employer. Nor can the Communist-controlled labor organizations in the free world help in this struggle because their basic subservience is to Soviet interests, which are becoming more and more bound-up with giant world corporations.

The AFL-CIO longs for the day when the Russian, Polish, Chinese, Hungarian, Czecho-Slovak, East German, Spanish and other workers now under a totalitarian yoke will be able to enjoy the rights and benefits of freedom of association, the right to strike, bona fide collective bargaining—genuine free trade unionism. We must never do anything to hinder, block or delay that day by associating with and lending moral respectability and credibility to the officers imposed on the workers by the dictatorships in order to hold them down, regiment them, and paralyze their capacity to resist intense exploitation and repression.

### Restore Democracy in Chile

On September 11, 1973, the Chilean Army, Navy, and Air Force carried out a coup d'etat to remove the minority government of Salvador Allende Gossens from office. Since the takeover, the military junta has sought to consolidate its power by excessive violence, the burning of books, sweeping suppression of political and trade union rights, and indiscriminate mass arrests of potential political opponents.

The AFL-CIO Convention condemns all such excesses and calls for their immediate cessation. We urge our government to take all necessary diplomatic and economic measures to speed the re-establishment of civilian rule and the restoration of full political and trade union rights in Chile.

For nearly three years, the Chilean armed forces had tolerated and, on occasion, even cooperated with and assisted the Allende regime to stay in power. But not even this cooperation and help by the military could stave off the disastrous consequences of Allende's false policies and increasingly unconstitutional behavior. Reckless illegal expropriation of property in the rural and urban areas, catastrophic collapse of production, loss of over \$1,000,000,000 by state enterprises in 1972, and a 350 percent rise in inflation within one year combined to create a situation which the people of Chile found more and more unbearable. Living conditions deteriorated sharply for the great mass of the working people. The Allende government found it increasingly hard to maintain public order.

Allende's "road to socialism" had all but destroyed Chile's economy and put Chile on the brink of a bloody civil war. Allende was swiftly moving to erase all restraints of democratic constitutional opposition to his increasingly unpopular government.

He had even lost large sectors of the labor movement where Communist influence had been strong for years. Such vital groups as the copper miners and transportation workers became bitterly alienated and paralyzing strikes ensued.

Allende was not chosen by a majority of the people to govern Chile. He had received only 36 percent of the popular vote. He came into office in April 1970 not by a vote of the people but by a vote of parliament in which his party was a minority and his opposition a majority. After the 1970 elections, he threatened to "paint Santiago with blood," if the newly elected Congress did not make him the head of government.

Another dangerous myth is that the tragic Allende "experiment" was a model example of "democracy and socialism," Allende being a sort of Dubcek. But Dubcek was moving away from dictatorship, while Allende was rushing headlong towards it. His strongest political arm, the Communist Party of Chile, was the first one outside the Iron Curtain to approve fully the 1968 Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. Allende was the founder and President of Castro's Havana-based Latin American Solidarity Organization set up in 1967 to foster armed insurrection throughout the Western Hemisphere. In fact, the president of the Christian Democratic Party (Eduardo Frei) asserted that Allende and his followers had been setting up huge caches of arms and ammunition in preparation for a "night of the long knives" in which key opposition and military leaders would be assassinated.

But none of this should be seized upon by the junta for blood and vengeance. The AFL-CIO deeply deplores the loss of life in Chile as a result of the successful military coup. We call for an immediate halt of the summary executions by the junta. The AFL-CIO joins the ORIT to insist that leaders of Chile's democratic forces must be permitted to come forward and convolve a constituent assembly of the various democratic parties in order to restore genuine representative government. Chile must not become another victim of the trend towards unpopular military regimes in the Americas.

### **Strong America and NATO— Pillars of World Peace**

In the last 28 years, world peace has been preserved, thanks to a strong U.S. defense posture. But in the face of an ever-increasing and massive military build-up of the Soviet Union, the United States has fallen back in its defense efforts due to the spread of neo-isolationism and illusions about detente.

Although Communist China is acquiring a significant ICBM capability, the Soviet Union remains the principal threat to U.S. security in the seventies. While the Soviet Union has always enjoyed superiority in conventional arms, she is fast approaching the day when she will also have nuclear superiority.

In the SALT I negotiations, the United States accepted numerical inferiority in strategic weapons vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. Under the terms of the five-year interim agreement, the Soviets will enjoy a 50% margin in numbers of land and seabased missiles, and a much greater margin in throw-weight. The United States made this concession because of our technological superiority, in particular our possession of MIRVs (multiple independently targetable warheads).

Since then, the Soviet Union has acquired MIRV and, to boot, an improved one. In addition, the Soviets have vastly strengthened their strategic forces by new weapons developments. The United States is fast losing the military technological advantage it has enjoyed until now. If this trend continues, the result would be a significant shift in the balance of power which would bode ill for the preservation of world peace and the fate of human freedom.

To check this dangerous development, it is imperative that in the current SALT II negotiations the United States succeed in reversing the quantitative advantage conferred upon the Soviets for a five-year period and in achieving a permanent arms limitation agreement which provides for equality with the Soviet Union. Otherwise, our national security and that of our allies would be in jeopardy.

Simultaneously with her nuclear build-up, the Soviet Union has strengthened her conventional forces, especially in Central Europe. The superiority of the Warsaw Pact in men and weapons over the NATO forces continues to grow rapidly in this area. The military threat which the Soviet Union constitutes to the security and freedom of our European allies is greater than ever.

In this situation, the negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions (MBFR) in Central Europe are of the greatest importance. American negotiators should insist on balanced reductions, because the Soviet troops would pull back only 500 miles to the USSR, while American troops would go 3000 miles to the United States. Otherwise, the result of the MBFR negotiations would be to increase rather than to lessen tensions in Central Europe.

Given their military superiority, which serves them as a means of political pressure against Western Europe and an instrument of repression against East Europe, the Soviets are not overly interested in force reductions, let alone balanced reductions. To overcome their reluctance, the Kremlin rules should be warned that they will not receive any concessions on trade and technological aid from the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) unless meaningful progress will be achieved in the MBFR talks.

A successful outcome of these talks would be impossible if U. S. troops in Europe were to be unilaterally withdrawn before an agreement has been reached. Why should Moscow agree to a pullback of Soviet troops, if U. S. forces will anyhow leave Europe?

In order to make possible her huge military build-up, the Soviet Union has been diverting much-needed resources from her ailing economy to her arms programs. As a result, the USSR is now in deep economic trouble. Moscow counts on Western economic aid to extricate the Soviet regime from this crisis and, thus, enable it further to develop its military power.

Obviously, it is not in our national interest to help the Soviet government carry out this plan. Before the Western countries grant any economic concessions to Moscow, they should make sure that their aid does not strengthen the Soviet military machine. Soviet willingness to agree to strategic arms limitations and balanced force reductions should be the yardstick for measuring the Kremlin's real intentions.

It has been asserted that, due to detente, a Soviet military threat no longer exists. But the hard facts are that 1) the Soviet arms program has been stepped up in recent months; 2) the Soviets aim not only at strategic equality with the United States but strategic superiority; 3) the Soviet government seeks to un-

dermine NATO and drive the United States from the European continent. It is obvious that Moscow wants to use its growing military strength to gain hegemony over Europe, to control the Middle East with its oil reserves, and to dominate the Indian Ocean. The Soviets will not hesitate to employ their military might and recently expanded naval power for achieving their political and diplomatic goals.

Moscow's expansionist designs cannot be thwarted if the American people succumb to neo-isolationism or euphoria over detente. The United States can neither disarm unilaterally nor withdraw from its world-wide responsibilities. To do this would be fatal to our own vital interests and the survival of our allies and friends in Europe and in the rest of the world.

The 10th Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO urges the Administration and the Congress to take all necessary measures to assure a strong U.S. defense posture in terms of conventional as well as nuclear weapons. Our forces should be adequate not only to deter and, if necessary, defeat any direct attack against this country, but also to meet our commitments abroad. We oppose any cuts in military expenditures which would cripple this country's defense and leave it to the mercy of our adversaries or force it to abandon our allies.

The cornerstone of our own security remains NATO. After years of neglect, NATO is in dire need of invigoration. Not only our own contributions to NATO, but also those of our allies have to be increased. We expect our European allies to assume a larger share of our common defense burden, including the costs of keeping American troops on the continent.

We are for making every effort to negotiate a peaceful settlement of all differences which our country and its allies have with the Soviet Union. But such negotiations can be fruitful and serve the cause of world peace only if the democracies have sufficient military strength and unity of purpose.

In the interest of world peace our country must remain vigilant and strong. It must not shirk its international responsibilities. American organized labor will do its utmost to help our nation meet the challenges of these difficult times.

### Soviet Jewry

WHEREAS, Soviet Jews, more than any minority, are deprived of their basic human rights, and

WHEREAS, Soviet Jews seeking to exercise their right to live where they choose are subjected to harassment, loss of jobs, and even imprisonment, and

WHEREAS, Soviet Jews seeking to perpetuate their national heritage and culture in the Soviet Union are denied the institutions and facilities to do so; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO call upon the Soviet government to stop dismissing persons from their employment when they apply for permission to emigrate and to restore the jobs of those now awaiting visas, and be it further

RESOLVED: That we commend those members of the Senate and Congress who are co-sponsoring the Jackson-Mills-Vanik Amendment for their support of this legislation and call upon those members of Congress who have not yet joined the sponsors to do so without delay, and be it further

RESOLVED: That we call upon the Soviet Union to allow those Soviet Jews who wish to remain in the Soviet Union to live as Jews and allow those who wish to emigrate to do so without harassment and persecution.

### CARE

WHEREAS, Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere is a great national asset with a record of useful service to the peoples of lesser developed countries, and

WHEREAS, Since CARE's beginning 27 years ago, the AFL-CIO, a founding member, has cooperated with CARE to deliver food and medicine to stricken areas, construct housing and schools, install clean water systems, build roads and furnish education materials wherever the need is greatest, and

WHEREAS, CARE is currently extending earthquake relief in Nicaragua, constructing housing in Bangladesh, building schools, roads, water systems and similar programs in countries with developing problems, and

WHEREAS, most important of all, CARE has taken the responsibility for supplemental feeding of 36,000,000 people, two-thirds of which are children under 15, in countries where food is scarce; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the tenth convention of American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organization, salute CARE for its successful world-wide operations, for its close association with the AFL-CIO, and urges AFL-CIO affiliated organizations to give the fullest financial support of CARE programs as an important means of strengthening peace and stability throughout the world.

## **The Genocide Treaty**

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO is gratified to note that major breakthroughs have been achieved in the long struggle to win United States ratification of the Genocide Treaty, which seeks to outlaw mass murder and safeguard basic human rights throughout the world, and

WHEREAS, In February 1970, President Nixon called on the Senate "to delay no longer in taking the final convincing step." Both the Secretary of State and the Attorney General have declared that there are no legal or constitutional obstacles to the United States ratification. All relevant sections of the American Bar Association have also endorsed United States action, and

WHEREAS, On three occasions the Foreign Relations Committee voted by a substantial majority to send the treaty to the Senate with a recommendation to ratify, and

WHEREAS, It is likely that the Genocide Treaty will be brought before the Senate in 1973. Since 67 votes are required for ratification, it is imperative that even greater public support is mobilized in order to counteract the massive campaign by conservative and right-wing forces to defeat ratification; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO endorse United States ratification of the Genocide Treaty, and be it further

**RESOLVED:** That this endorsement is communicated to members of the Senate without delay.

## **West African Drought**

WHEREAS, Six countries in West Africa, namely, Chad, Niger, Mauritania, Upper Volta, Mali and Senegal, are undergoing the worst drought in Africa's recorded history, causing widespread starvation and disease, and

WHEREAS, This disaster affects the lives of 24 million people resulting in a 60 percent loss of cattle and 50 percent loss of their grain harvest. These factors foretell a greater hardship for the countries next year, and

WHEREAS, Countries have given aid in terms of food and dollars, the fact remains that the economic and social systems of these affected countries have been severely damaged or destroyed. We are willing to give aid to nations but fundamentally we are reluctant to help countries establish their own economic and social systems to solve their own problems; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO urge Congress to extend further aid to the West African countries ravaged by drought, fam-

ine and disease and through the Agency for International Development furnish the necessary technical assistance to aid in the reconstruction of the economic and social systems of these countries, and be it further

**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO continue to support the efforts being made to provide the necessary assistance to alleviate these problems in West Africa through the African-American Labor Center and the cooperating free trade unions in that area.

## **Southern Africa**

WHEREAS, As trade unionists, we must actively work to end the oppression of workers throughout the world, and

WHEREAS, Nowhere is this oppression and economic discrimination more evident than in the Southern African states, and

WHEREAS, Action is being planned by the International Labor Organization; and the United Nations; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:**

1. The AFL-CIO support efforts to end apartheid and racial and economic discrimination against Black workers in South Africa and that AFL-CIO support the trade unionists both inside and outside South Africa who are engaged in a struggle for the recognition of trade union rights for the Black African workers. In this respect, the efforts of the African-American Labor Center in conjunction with the African workers should be supported.

2. The AFL-CIO support the Longshoremen in their refusal to unload Rhodesian chrome in certain U.S. cities.

3. We work to enlist U.S. Government support to extend economic sanctions against South Africa and the Portuguese territories in South Africa; and that AFL-CIO work to support the repeal of the Byrd Amendment which allows the U.S. to import Rhodesian chrome and other strategic materials.

## **Cultural Exchange Programs**

WHEREAS, We believe that true and effective cultural exchange programs with other nations are desirable, and

WHEREAS, We believe that such true and effective cultural exchange should supplement, and not displace, established individual artists or groups; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** The AFL-CIO urges the establishment of a practice of effective communications with the arts community and professional groups of artists over a period of years in order that the cultural programs may be more effectively and equitably arranged.

## **Oil Imports**

WHEREAS, The United States, with only 6 percent of the world's population, now consumes 33 percent of its energy and is the world's leading importer of oil. In 1972, this country imported 27 percent of the oil it required for a total of 4.7 million barrels per day. For 1973, even the most conservative estimates forecast an American dependency of 33 percent on foreign oil. Assuming present import restrictions do not change, the U.S. will require approximately 6 million barrels of foreign oil each day, and

WHEREAS, If present trends continue, we will be dependent on foreign sources for at least one-half of our oil requirements by the 1980's, and

WHEREAS, The United States, however, has allowed itself to be placed in the dangerous position of dual dependency. It is dependent on foreign sources not only for the supply of oil required but also for the ships necessary to transport it to our shores, and

WHEREAS, United States flag tanker participation in our oil import trade has hovered between 3 and 5 percent of total import volume. The remaining 95 to 97 percent of America's oil imports is carried on vessels owned or chartered by America's oil companies and flying the flag of foreign nations, and

WHEREAS, This is a practice which threatens our security and offers no economic benefits, and

WHEREAS, Legislation has been introduced in the United States House of Representatives and Senate that would rectify this situation. HR8193 and S2089 would require that 20 percent of America's oil imports be immediately transported on privately owned U.S. flag vessels to the extent that the vessels are available at fair and reasonable rates. This reserved share would increase to 25 percent after June 30, 1975, and to at least 30 percent after June 30, 1977, providing that the Secretary of Commerce makes a determination that sufficient U.S. tonnage exists to carry the increased amounts, and

WHEREAS, In addition to HR8193, introduced by Congresswoman Leonor K. Sullivan (D-Mo.), chairman of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, some 220 Congressmen have co-sponsored similar legislation. Senator Warren G. Magnuson (D-Wash.), Chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, and Senator J. Glenn Beall (R-Md.) have introduced S2089 along with Senators Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) and Charles McC. Mathias (R-Md.). These congressmen and senators have recognized that the benefits to our nation from enacting this legisla-

tion are enormous.

The danger to the United States of economic and political blackmail by nations controlling the vessels engaged in the U.S. oil trade would be lessened.

Over 45 thousand seafaring, shipbuilding and allied industry jobs would be initially created, rising to over 65 thousand by 1985.

America's marine environment will be better protected through the use of U.S. flag tankers. Safety and manning standards imposed on U.S. tankers are the most stringent in the world, and

WHEREAS, One of the most important advantages of this legislation is that it provides one means to begin curbing America's rampant inflation. It is impossible for inflation to be brought under control in this country as long as the American dollar remains unstable in the international money market. To correct this situation, however, the nation must first reverse the trend of continued balance of payments deficits, and

WHEREAS, The single largest commercial balance of payments deficit item is the cost we pay for foreign oil—an estimated \$7.5 billion in 1973. The second largest commercial balance of payments deficit item will soon be the amount we pay for bringing this oil to our shores, and

WHEREAS, In 1972, the balance of payments deficit caused by the almost exclusive use of foreign flag tankers to carry U.S. oil imports amounted to more than \$500 million. In 1973, this tanker caused deficit probably will exceed \$600 million. By 1980, using Department of Interior oil import projections, and with no increases in U.S. flag carriage, the foreign tanker deficit is expected to jump to more than \$2.5 billion, and

WHEREAS, The balance of payments deficit caused by the use of foreign flag tankers is controllable and this nation must act at once to control it by enacting legislation to increase the amount of imported oil carried by American flag tankers, and

WHEREAS, The sponsors and cosponsors of this legislation have realized one further point. Namely, that the United States can attain these benefits at no cost to the American consumer. In fact, by eliminating the danger of the consumer being forced to assume the cost of whatever the foreign shipper wishes to charge for transporting the oil, this legislation is actually a consumer protection measure, and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO has urged Congress to enact this legislation so as to guarantee the development of an American tanker capability that would be in the best interests of the national security, the economy, the environment and a more favorable balance of payments position. For these same reasons, this legislation merits the support of all Americans; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO strongly urges Congress to enact HR8193 and S2089, so as to provide the United States with the numerous benefits which would accrue to the consumer, to the economy and to our national security as a result of the development of a U.S. flag tanker fleet of sufficient magnitude to carry a significant portion of America's oil imports.

### **Freedom and Civil Rights for Northern Ireland**

**WHEREAS,** A four-year-old war continues in Northern Ireland without any sign or hope of peace approaching, and

**WHEREAS,** Thousands of political dissenters have been imprisoned without trial and confined indefinitely under the Special Powers Act of Northern Ireland, and

**WHEREAS,** Northern Ireland is only a partitioned part of Ireland and only a partitioned part of the province of Ulster, and

**WHEREAS,** The mini state of Northern Ireland was only established during the bloody Anglo-Irish struggle of 1916-1921, and

**WHEREAS:** The legal authorities which constitute the governments of Great Britain, Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic have failed to bring about an end to violence and bloodshed, and

**WHEREAS:** The seeds of conflict, centuries old, must now be viewed in a most serious manner, an effective means must be found to bring the parties in conflict together to achieve a lasting and just solution.

**RESOLVED:** The AFL-CIO urges the government of Great Britain and Irish Republic to use the auspices of the United Nations by agreement in order to establish a peace keeping force in Northern Ireland until such time as the people of all Ireland may vote on the questions of unity and independence, and be it further

**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO urges that the policy of imprisonment without trial be abolished, that civil rights and religious freedom be assured, and that elections be held in an atmosphere of freedom, and be it further

**RESOLVED:** That in the event the people of Ireland vote for unity, the United Nations then supervise the holding of a constitutional convention that will assure civil rights and religious freedom for all the people of the nation.

### **Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of Universal Declaration of Human Rights**

On December 10, 1973, it will be 25 years since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the United Nations.

American labor participated actively in the preparation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and took the initiative in placing before the whole world the growing menace of forced labor. We take seriously the goal of the U.N. Charter, which states "to achieve international cooperation solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

Our convention therefore urges that this historic 25th anniversary be dramatized by these meaningful steps to safeguard and expand human rights throughout the world:

1. The U.N. General Assembly, meeting in special session, should vote a reaffirmation of this historic proclamation, and, thereafter, every member state should publish the Universal Declaration in its own language and give it the widest circulation.

2. We urge the U.N. to increase the authority, competence, and effectiveness of its Human Rights Commission by transforming it from a sub-committee of ECOSOC into a special commission endowed with the powers of investigation, observation, and recommendation in respect to the condition of human rights prevailing in all member states.

3. The General Assembly should designate a Special Commission on removing all impediments and barriers to the strengthening of the free flow of information and ideas among all nations. U.N. member states should remove all regulations and barriers impeding the widest circulation of all publications, reports and proceedings of the United Nations and all its agencies and commissions.

4. A special U.N. Commission should review the text of the principal human rights conventions with a view to eliminating loose formulations which make these conventions meaningless or even instruments for authorizing curbs on human freedom.

5. While great progress has been made in extending the right of self-determination in various parts of the world—1,153,452,053 people have won their national freedom and 13,223,124 square miles, once in dependent areas, are now independent—but much remains to be done. The U.N. therefore should make an up-to-date survey of the progress achieved on all continents and offer proposals for accelerating the attainment of national self-deter-

mination for the remaining dependencies, satellites and captive peoples.

6. With a view of adopting a special convention on the rights of political prisoners, entitled "U.N. Charter of the Political Prisoner," the current General Assembly should act to (a) define the category of political prisoners independently of the definition set by any individual country, and (b) encompass all aspects of the conditions of the political prisoners: arrest, prosecutions, trial, types of sentence imposed (prison, concentration camp, psychiatric ward, etc.), and status and conditions of prisoner after release.

7. UNESCO should actively promote human rights on a broader and more inclusive scale—embracing especially freedom of association and emigration, and a free flow of information between the various peoples.

8. We reaffirm the appeal of the Eighth AFL-CIO Convention "to the members of the U.S. Senate and particularly urge every member of its Foreign Relations Committee to have its Chairman, Senator Fulbright, cease and desist from all further delays in recommending ratification of the . . . remaining human rights treaties. The national interests of the American people, the international repute and stature of our country, demand prompt Senate ratification of these Conventions." Only after our government has ratified these conventions will it be in a position to work effectively for their clarification and improvement.

The crisis now gripping the world is, in large measure, a crisis involving human values, human rights. The greater the guarantee of human rights, the greater the prospects for world peace.

Mindful of American labor's historic contribution to the cause of universal acceptance of freedom and of equal rights and opportunities for all, we call upon our membership and the workers of all other free countries to observe December Tenth as the Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Let us make this a day of rededication to tireless efforts for enlisting the minds and hearts of people everywhere in our fight for human rights for every human being.

### Preservation of World Whale Stocks

WHEREAS, With the passage of the Marine Mammals Protection Act in 1972, the United States committed itself to a major campaign to reduce the senseless and wasteful killing of marine mammals. Many of these animals, including seals, porpoises and whales, were considered to be endangered and had been hunted to the point where stocks were seriously depleted and in some instances exhausted, and

WHEREAS, Since the passage of the Marine Mammals Protection Act, significant steps by the U.S., both unilaterally and multilaterally, have succeeded in setting up reasonable programs to preserve ocean mammals, and

WHEREAS, However, one species of mammal, the whale, continues to be hunted by several foreign nations, and the future survival of this ocean creature is in jeopardy. The major hunters of whales are the Japanese, and to a lesser degree, the Soviet Union. Together, the two nations account for over 90 percent of the whales killed throughout the world, and

WHEREAS, The continuing desire of these two nations to maximize their whale harvest runs contrary to the views of the majority of the nations, including the United States, represented on the International Whaling Commission, the body which regulates the worldwide hunt for whales, and

WHEREAS, At a recent conference of the Commission in London, Japan and Russia voted to continue to take whales in the face of worldwide sentiment that all whale killings should be halted. U.S. representatives pointed out that forecasts of whale populations are unreliable and that even with quotas, there is a grave risk of stock depletion. They urged that all nations follow the U.S. lead in declaring whales "endangered species" and prohibit either the hunting or importation of whales or whale products, and

WHEREAS, Thus, it is vital that if effective management of this ocean resources is to take place, then the wholesale killing of whales must be prohibited until there is sufficient knowledge about the size and habits of whale stocks. This is particularly true in light of the many other less depleted fish stocks available to the Russians and Japanese that could replace the whale's limited role as food for humans and animals; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO calls upon Japan and Russia to abide by world opinion expressed at the recent London meeting of the International Whaling Commission, and cease the hunting of whales in order that this important sea mammal can be preserved and allowed to grow in numbers, and also urges the Administration to bring pressure on these nations to comply with world sentiment that whales are endangered and must be preserved.

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